THE

# "Sharada-Peetha"

# RESEARCH SERIES

(Founded by Dr. R. K. KAW, M.A., Ph.D.)

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नित्यं शिवं शान्ति सुखं वृणीष्व

( Choose the pleasure of everlasting tranquility and peace. )

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# CONTENTS

Vol. I Feb.-July 1960 Part III


| | | Pages |
|---|---|---|
| Dedication ... ... ... ... ... | | 1 |
| Introductory ... ... | By Dr. R. K. Kaw | 2—4 |
| The Poet-Historian Kalhana Jayanti Celebrations (Report) | Do | 5—9 |
| Sufism and Kashmir ... ... (Shree J. L. K. Jalali's view discussed) | Do | 10—15 |
| Sufi Inspiration to Kashmiri Poetry | Do | 15—24 |
| Nagarjuna's Contribution to Shaivism | Do | 25—27 |
| Nagarjuna's "Chitta-santosha-trimshika' | Edited by Vv Dr. S. N. Sharma | 27—31 |
| Nagarjuna's "Parmarchana-trimshika" | Do | 31—35 |
| Peeps into the Indian Literature on Agriculture | By Dr. R. K. Kaw | 36—38 |
| "The Doctrine of Recognition" (Pratyabhijna System of Philosophy) (A study of its Origin and Development and Place in Indian and Western systems of Philosophy) Chapters II & III..... | Do | 73—84 |
| The J. & K. Oriental Research Society | Do | Cover Pages iii-iv (Back-side) |
| Appeal ... ... | Do | iii |


*Gen. Editor Dr. R. K. KAW*

१) प्रारभ्यते न खलु विघ्नभयेन नीचैः, प्रारभ्य विघ्न विहिता विरमन्ति मध्याः।
विघ्नैः पुनः पुनरपि प्रतिहन्यमानाः, प्रारभ्य चोत्तम जनाः न परित्यजन्ति॥

(Trans. Men of lower standard do not undertake an enterprize for fear of anticipated obstacles in their way. Men of middle standard start an enterprize but give it up half-way when thwarted by obstacles. Men of high standard begin upon some work but never leave it under compulsion of any obstacles or impediments that come in their way.)

2. In the Kalama Sutta Buddha says, "Do not believe in what ye have heard ; do not believe in traditions because they have been handed down from many generations ; do not believe in anything because it is rumoured and spoken of by many ; do not believe merely because the written statement of some old sage is produced. Do not believe in conjectures; do not believe in that as truth to which you have become attached by habit; do not believe merely on the authority of your teachers and elders; after observation and analysis, when it agrees with reason and is conducive to the good and benefit of one and all, then accept it and live upto it."

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THE NINTH REPUBLIC DAY OF INDIA UNION

# *The 'Sharada-Peetha' Research Series*

( A Series of Publications on Researches in Indology. )

*Devoted (1) To revitalize Indian Culture, (2) To promote human peace and freedom taught in our Philosophy. (3) To reveal Kashmir's Cultural past and contribution to thought through ages ; and (4) To explore exchanges of Eastern and Western cultures, especially Hindu and Muslim thought (in Kashmir).*

DEDICATED
TO
**DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN**
*Philosopher Politician*
VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA

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# INTRODUCTORY

While most thinkers of the world seeking human peace and freedom are groping their way today in different directions, our "*Sharada-Peetha*" has embarked upon representing Indian knowledge and experience in the context of the latest trends in modern civilization and fostering new consciousness among mankind which can contribute to a deeper understanding of man's nature and the inter-relations of the individual and the society or the world around. It has been revealed in the previous issues of the Series that Philosophy, particularly evolved in the East, has emphasised the principle of unity in mankind, nay the organic unity of life itself and opened unsuspected prospects for a proper appreciation of human values and human aspirations. It is only the knowledge of humanistic philosophy of India that will 'eventually lift the human race above and beyond the fear, ignorance brutality and isolation which beset it today'. Indian Philosophy has contributed most to 'a doctrine of man' which is leading hopefully to the building up of a common world society necessary to end the present ailment of humanity. It is, therefore, that the great nations of the East and the West are seeking the one world today. There cannot be one world in the affairs of men, unless there be one world in the hearts of men. In the modern world, when materialism has gained the upper hand, there is fear of another great war impending with all its horrors. Only the spiritual ideals of India can save the world.

The modern imperialist powers realized after the last two great world wars that wars do not bring happiness to mankind, but only lead to annihilation of humanity and destruction of all good things achieved by man. This was realized by India four thousand years ago when the great war – Mahabharata – was fought in our country, in which such deadly missiles as Agni Bhan etc., perhaps deadlier than the weapons and armaments of the modern scientific and atomic age, were exhausted. After a grim experience of might which India tried in that remote age when the country was on the zenith of power and progress, it carved for itself a new way for the welfare and peaceful existence of humanity, a way of non-violence, love of human beings and human equality. The same principles were taught first in the Upanisads and then by the line of teachers from Rishabhadeva to Parshva and Mahavira, the Buddha and by the later teachers in different ages. Even the theoritician of the Mahabharata who compiled that work in some peaceful corner and not in the middle of the field of battle, put these very principles in the mouth of the leader of the Mahabharata war who advocated violence (in the battle-field) ; 'to fight and kill' in order to recover land, kingship, wealth and honour ; no matter who was the enemy or the opponent concerned ; he may be kin, blood relation, Guru (teacher) or grandfather, one's own countryman or alien, because 'Atman (soul) never dies nor is killed'. Or, it appears that, Lord Krishna himself preached the humanistic doctrines and stressed the importance of all human virtues some time after the Bharata war

when he witnessed the consequences of violence which he preached in the middle of the battle-field. The great nations in the East and the West should therefore take a note of warning from the lessons of India and of the past two great world wars, so that they may not only desist from the acts of aggression and exploitation directed on other peoples in their greed for extension of power, but also give up for good all 'vileness. wickedness and cussedness' (ingrained in the nature of man), 'work for a Society in which man can be free and fearless' and 'use the instruments of Science (only) for the improvement of the conditions of life'.

Our leaders were ever anxious not only about the moral and spiritual uplift of the people for the welfare and peaceful existence of humanity, but also about the material prosperity of the country. Agriculture was considered as the bedrock of a country's prosperity and progress. It was planned and pursued in our country from the early days of the Mauryan empire in the third century B.C. Our present-day leaders have given the greatest priority to the task of raising the standard of living of the people. They have taken all possible measures in the recent years to have food for all and better food, clothing for all and better clothing, and housing for all and better housing. Agriculture was the first and foremost thing attended to in free India, and great efforts have been made to pursue it on the modern scientific lines. The country can claim solid achievements in the various fields of Agriculture, made by such activities as Crop Production programmes, Grow-More-Food drive, Vanamahotsava and Gosamvardhana. The number of Agricultural training and Research centres has increased in the various parts of the country and extensions have been made in the old centres which existed before. As Agriculture has played such an important role in the Indian civilization, a brief article has been included in the present issue to give peeps into the 'Culture of Agriculture' in vogue in India from the earliest ages. The writer is indebted to Dr. S. P. Raychaudhuri, M.Sc., Ph.D.,D.Sc.,F.R.I.C., F.N.I. under whose guidance he carried his studies on 'Agriculture in Ancient India' in the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi.

It is a matter for gratification that the first two publications of the "Sharada-Peetha" have been widely welcomed, and we are glad to note that our venture in bringing out this Series has been patronised by the various authorities in the State and outside. This response is, indeed, heartening to the workers at our centre. The General Secretary of the Bharat Sevak Samaj (in his letter of appreciation) aptly observed that the Sharada Peetha aims at bringing out 'in bold relief many of the interesting facts about Kashmir which are lying obscured'. Not only this, but the Centre is also devoted to bring into light many valuable old books which are forgotten and which are likely to be lost for ever, since Kashmir's treasures of learning remain yet to be unearthed, and to present these treasures in English or vernacular for the general reader. Believing in the power of the written word, the Sharada Peetha has taken upon itself the purpose of changing the direction of the world from the materialistic trends to the humanistic ends by

means of our writings. As regards the worth of the humble work which we have undertaken, there is a consolation in the words of Shree Jawahar Lal Ji Nehru who once remarked : "All over India we have centres of human activity which are lamps spreading their light more and more in the surrounding darkness. This light has to grow till it covers the land".

We greatly appreciate the advice and help given by our friends Principal J. D. Zadoo, M.A., M.O.L., Shree J. L. K. Jalali, M.A., Vidyavaridhi Dr. S. N. Sharma, D.O.C, Prof. P. N. Pushp, M.A.,M.O.L., Assistant Director of Research, Mirza Kamal Ud-Din, B.A., Ex-D.L.B., Secretary, Academy of Arts and Culture, Mr. T. N. Kazanchi, M.A., Superintendent of Archaeology, Mr. F. M. Hassnain, M.A.,LL.B., Director of Records, Shree J. L. Kaula, M.A.. retired Principal, Shree N. K, Ganjoo, B.A.,LL.B.,K.C.S. (Subjudge), Shree J. L. Raina B.A., M.R.A.S., Shree S. L. Pir, M.A., Information Officer, Shree B. N. Shastri, (of Oriental College), Shree R. C. Dhar, B.A., Librarian (Kashmir Research Deptt.) and Shree J. N. Kaw, B. Sc. (Telecom. Engineer), while the booklet was in the press.

It is our pleasant duty to record our deep greatfulness to all those authorities who have patronised this venture of ours and given constant encouragement to us, such as Shree G. M. Bakhshi, Kashmir Premier, Shree Sham Lal Saraf, Minister for Industries and Commerce, Shree S. Harbans Singh Azad, M.A.,LL.B., Minister for Education, Shree G. A. Mukhtar, M.A.,B.T., Director of Education, Shree J. N. Zutshi, M.A.,LL.B., Director of Information, Mr. Justice J. L. Kilam retired and Shree C. L. Trisal, M.A., Information Officer, Govt. of India, Information Centre, Srinagar.

As is apparent from the title, Sharada Peetha Research Series is intended to appear henceforth under the auspices of the Jammu and Kashmir Oriental Research Society which was established in the State on 29th of June 1959 under the patronage of Shree G. M. Bakhshi, the Kashmir Premier and Shree Shyam Lal Saraf, Kashmir's Minister for Industries and Commerce. As regards the formation of the Society and its aims and objects etc. attention of the interested readers is drawn to cover pages iii & iv on the backside of this booklet. It is hoped that the publication of this Series will receive the patronage of the Society.

31st July, 1960

R. K. KAW

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*Articles of research value are invited, and honoraria paid on their publication.*

# THE POET-HISTORIAN KALHANA JAYANTI CELEBRATION*

Kalhana Day or the Jayanti of Kalhana, the great poet-historian of Kashmir, was celebrated in Srinagar in a public meeting organised by the Kashmir Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelana and the Sharada-Peetha Research Centre on 15th August 1959 ( our 13th Independence Day ). A large gathering of public including a number of scholars and notables was present on the occasion. The Jayanti celebrations were preceded by prayer and music and some speeches in honour of the Independence day. The extracts from the speeches made on Kalhana by some of the scholars are given below :-

Introducing Kalhana as the first known poet-historian of Kashmir, Dr. R. K. Kaw spoke : 'We are proud of Kalhana Pandit, one of the great sons of Kashmir that can boast of having a recorded history extending to about four thousand years past, written by him. The great historian flourished in the 12 century when Jayasimha was the ruler of Kashmir. He has bequeathed to us his memorable work Rajatarangini, the chronicle of the kings of Kashmir, one of the masterpieces of the world. Great scholars like Dr. M. A. Stein have become impressed with the importance of Kalhana's chronicle, 'our oldest and fullest record of Kashmir history'. The other native historians of Kashmir who followed Kalhana, namely Jonaraj, Shrivara, Prajyabhatta and Shuka, continued the history of Kashmir (Rajatarangini) on the model of their pioneer. It has often been said of the India of Hindus that it possessed no history. Arthur A. Macdonell remarks in his 'A History of Sanskrit Literature' ( P. 10 ) that 'History is the one weak spot in Indian literature' which he ascribes to 'the total lack of the historical sense' among the ancient Indians. This remark was made obsolete by the discovery of Kalhana's history of Kashmir (Rajatarangini) and the chronicles composed by other Kashmir historians. It is with Kalhana, therefore, that the renaissance of historical literature began in Kashmir, nay perhaps in India too. Although Kalhana mentions in the first canto of his chronicle a number of the earlier compositions on the subject some of which were extant even in his time, he still rightly deserves

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**Report by Dr. R. K. Kaw*

the credit of being the first known historian of Kashmir.

Continuing his speech Dr. Kaw said that according to Kalhana, there had been extensive works of ancient date containing the chronicles of Kings of Kashmir, but in his time those works no longer existed in a complete state. Kalhana attributes their partial loss to the composition of Suvrata, who had condensed their contents in a kind of hand book. Of the other texts we know nothing but names of three : Kshemendra's 'List of Kings' (Nripavali), Padmamihira's list of kings and Savillakar's work. It is observed that Pashupata ascetic Helaraja's work 'Parthivavali' (List of kings) is based on Padmamihara's work. Kalhana further tells us that he had inspected eleven works of former scholars containing the chronicles of the kings, besides the Nilamata-purana which is extant now. He makes a brief review of all these earlier compositions in the first canto of the Rajatarangini. Besides he made use of inscriptions and other antiquarian materials. After a thorough study of his sources, Kalhana wrote the chronicle, which was to its author in the first place a Kavya. The interest which attracted scholars to Kalhana's work, is mainly due to its character as a historical record, as being a historical Kavya it supplies the materials for the study of history. In Kalhana's Rajatarangini we have a work which Prof. Wilson characterised as 'the only Sanskrit composition yet discovered to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied'. It appears that Kalhana was fully alive to the value of historical impartiality.

Rajatarangini furnishes a mass of detailed information regarding the conditions of ancient Kashmir. Kalhana displays a great knowledge of human nature, intimate acquaintance with his country's material conditions, interest in antiquarian details even of the humblest kind, and in the facts of every-day life. He had, indeed, an observant eye and open mind for the affairs of the world around him. Kalhana had a thorough literary training. He had carefully studied the Vikramankadevacharita, the historical Kavya of his fellow countryman Bilhana, written towards the last quarter of the eleventh century. He had also closely studied Bana's Harshacharita and had acquired a very intimate knowledge of Mahabharata. He seems to have been equally well acquainted with the Ramayana. Kalhana appears to be a master Kavi of his time, from Mankha's Shrikanthacharita. Mankha,

in his account of a 'Sabha' (literary assembly) held at the house of his brother, the Minister Alamkara, devotes three verses to a complementary notice of the Kavi 'Kalyana'. He describes him as holding a distinguished position among the expert masters of Kavya. Deriving the name Kalhana (Apabramsha form) from Sanskrit Kalyana (meaning 'happy', 'blessed') through its Prakrit Kallana, and taking into consideration the coincidence in date, Dr. M. A. Stein thinks that it is highly probable that the Kavi Kalyana of the Shrikanthacharita is the same person as Kalhana, the author of Rajatarangini.

Kalhana wrote his work in 1148-49 A. D. There are obvious reasons to believe that he must have been born by about the beginning of the 12th century and that Parihaspura (in Kashmir) was his place of birth. In the chronicle, we meet a person named Chanpaka who is invariably spoken of with evident respect for his character and activity. He is introduced as Lord of the gate (Dvarapati) or the commandant of the frontier defences in the later part of Harsha's reign. He is mentioned amongst the last few officials who loyally stood by the king's side. He was Kalhana's father.

Closing his speech Dr. Kaw said : 'Our Kalhana Jayanti celebrations are very significant, as they point to the fact that he was a great poet-historian of our country. He will be ever remembered as a great son of the soil who has left for us such a lofty heritage which stands as evidence to the fact that Kashmir has not only produced philosophers, rhetoricians and poets but also historians and politicians' In the end the speaker proposed that a Kalhana Commemoration Volume (to contain contributions from all over the country, bringing into limelight other ancient historians of India) be published either by the State Research Department or by any public Research Centre in Kashmir, so that this great son of Kashmir shines like the sun along with other luminaries (who appeared in other parts of the country from time to time) and lives ever in the peoples' memory.

Shree J. L. K Jalali (the President of all Kashmiri Pandits Yuvak Sabha) spoke : Kalhana the great historian, whose Jayanti we are celebrating today, has lit the torch that illumines the darkest alleys of historical ignorance....Although Nilamata-purana has furnished us with an account of Kashmir's "birth" after the drainage of the Sati-sara

(the lake of Goddess Sati), it is Kalhana who constructed the history of the land with data ranging from the earliest times to his day. Kalhana's history is not only history of monarchs but a history of the people...Kalhana was both a historian and a master Kavi, a great poet...The Rajatarangini is his monumental work, which shall always live as a symbol of Kalhana's versatility...'

As the Cultural Academy has a proposal of translating Kalhana's Rajatarangini into Urdu, the speaker placed a resolution before the audience to the effect that the Academy be advised to entrust this work to Sanskrit scholars competent to translate Sanskrit into Urdu, so that the translation of this work be prepared direct from original Sanskrit rather than from English translations. He also proposed that the Rajatarangini edited and printed by M. A. Stein, now out of print, should be reprinted by the State Government, along with translations in English, Hindi, Urdu and Kashmiri and made available at a reasonable price within the purchasing capacity of reading public. Mr. Jalali further proposed that the Government should recognise Devanagari as an alternative script for writing of Kashmiri as in the case of Dogari for which both Persian and Devanagari scripts have been recognised by them.

Praising Kalhana as Chakravarti ( great monarch ) among poet historians, Vidyavaridhi Dr. S. N. Sharma, President of the Kashmir Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelana, spoke ( in Sanskrit ) in detail about the time of Kalhana, the various writers who preceded and followed him and their works, and also the importance of his work Rajatarangini in the historical literature of our country. He said :

यत्पुरा भारतीयविद्वद्भिरान्यान्यविषयरचनापरायणैः यत्र प्रवृत्ति र्न समुद्भासिता... तत्रापि कश्मीरप्रान्त एव ईदृगासीत्। यस्य प्राचीनकालाद् धारावाहरूपेण इतिहासः समुपलभ्यते । तत्र ईस्वीयद्वादशशताब्द्यां श्री कल्हण पण्डितेन अनेकान् इतिहासस्य पूर्वपूर्वतरान् ग्रन्थान् चर्चित्वा अन्येषां साधनाञ्च अन्वेषणं कृत्वा राजतरङ्गिणीनामधेयस्य इतिहासग्रन्थस्य रचना कृता...। एकतः इयं राजतरङ्गिणी इतिहासस्य महान् ग्रन्थः, अन्यतश्च सुन्दरकाव्यकला निष्यन्दिनी...। महतागर्वेण वयं वच्मो यदस्माकं प्राचीनेतिहासः सुरक्षितोऽस्ति। कल्हणपण्डितेन ११४९ ईस्व्यां राजतरङ्गिणी समापिता। तदनन्तरमेव जोनराज पण्डितवर्येण आ ११४९ ई० वर्षात् स्वजीवनान्तमितिहासो लिखितः कल्हणवत् पद्येष्वेव। पश्चात् जैनोलाभदीन राज्यकाले पण्डित श्रीवरेण राजतरङ्गिण्या एको भागो लिखितः। राजतरङ्गिणी चतुर्थभागस्य

प्राज्यभट्टशुकपण्डितवराभ्यां रचना कृता...। एवं धारावाहरीत्या कश्मीरस्येतिहास-ग्रन्थानां दीर्घदीर्घतरा परिपाटी वर्तते। परं कल्हणकृतराजतरङ्गिण्या एव जगति महत्वं अस्ति...। अतोऽहमद्य इतिहास - कविचक्रवर्तिकल्हणपण्डितवर्याय ततस्मारकदिवसे इमां श्रद्धाञ्जलिं सादरेण प्रहिणोमि॥

Praising the historical sense of ancient Kashmiris and the master poet-historian Kalhana, Prof. J. D. Zadoo spoke as follows :-

"पुरा भारतीयेषु इतिहासकलाज्ञानं नासीत्" इत्यस्मिन् विषये अस्मत्पूर्वजाः काश्मीरिका अपवादभूताः (exception) सन्ति। ते बहुषु विषयेषु वैलक्षण्यं निजं व्यक्तित्वञ्च दधतेस्म विशेषतः इतिहासकलाविषये। अस्मिन् सम्बन्धे बिल्हणस्य विक्रमांकचरितम्, मंखकवेः श्रीकण्ठचरितम्, क्षेमेन्द्रस्य कृतयः पुष्ट्यर्थमत्र उदाहि-यन्ते। तेषामेवैतिहासिकग्रन्थानां मध्ये कल्हणस्य कृतिः "राजतरङ्गिणी" अग्रगण्या। एभिरेव काश्मीरिक पुरातत्त्वग्रन्थैः इतिहासकलायां भारतः प्रसिद्धिमाप॥

Shree B. N. Shastri read his poem in praise of Kavi Kalhana and Kashmir which has produced such like great poets, historians and other writers.

१) कश्मीरं ख्यातदेशं हि कविभूङ्गैः सुगुञ्जितम्।
जन्मना भूषयामास कल्हणो नाम पण्डितः॥
२) धन्योऽयं काश्यपो देशः सुनगैः सुनदैर्युतः।
रुद्रभम्मटकैयट्टाः सोमानन्दोत्पलादयः।
मङ्खक्षेमेन्द्ररुय्याद्याः आचार्याः कल्हणादयः
लेभिरे यत्र जन्मानि भिन्नशास्त्रविशारदाः॥

While thanking the speakers and the audience including the members of the Sharada - Peetha Research Centre and other institutions, who participated in the Kalhana Day celebrations, Shree M. L. Zadoo Shastri, Secretary of Kashmir Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelana, reviewed the earlier speeches and closed the meeting. He said, although this country has given birth to many great philosophers, rhetoricians and others, yet we have celebrated Kalhana Day in the first instance. The other great sons of Kashmir will also be remembered in similar functions celebrated in their honour.

यद्यपि अयं देशः बहूनां दार्शनिकानां, धार्मिकानां, आलङ्कारिकाणां अन्येषाञ्च जननी, तथापि सर्वप्रथमं अद्य 'कश्मीर संस्कृतसाहित्य सम्मेलनेन' इतिहास-कविकल्हणस्य स्मृतिदिवसायोजनं महता समारोहेण सम्पादितम् .....

# SUFISM AND KASHMIR*

A controversy has arisen about the presentation of the facts connected with the advent of Sufism in Kashmir (as given in Vol I part II of this Series). We have received a critical note on this issue which we seek to clear in this article. The main controversial points raised by the learned critic are cited below :-

**Criticism by Shree J. L. K. Jalali M. A., (on the issue):-** Shree Jalali writes, 'Under the caption "Rise of Sufism and its spread in Kashmir" Dr. R. K. Kaw,...., has traced the origin and rise of Sufism in Arabia and its spread to different Muslim countries including Kashmir. So far as the history of the Sufi movement is concerned, the author has given a learned exposition and as such there is no need of discussing it. The point with which I am concerned is the "Spread of Sufism in Kashmir" given on pages 32-34 of the issue. It is evident that the learned author has taken too much for granted so far as history and historical background are related to the movement and its influence on Kashmir. He has gone to the length of saying that "both Hindus and Muslims had joined in large numbers the Sufi fold and followed the Sufi-life and practice...."

'It raises a very important point whether Sufism did have any influence on the Kashmiri thought of the fourteenth century. Historically speaking, Islam came to Kashmir in the middle of that century... On assuming the rulership of Kashmir (in 1340 A. D.) when Shahmir established the first Muslim dynasty of Salatin-i Kashmir, the population of Kashmir was all Hindu, mainly composed of Kashmiri Pandits, known as Bhattas...who had their own religion, their own faith, their own beliefs, and their own philosophy, thousands of years old. Their religion and philosophy could not be changed, notwithstanding the fact that the rulers had changed, unless and until the people changed. How was that possible ? The only course was to prepare the field...So the plan was first to resort to proselytization in order to create an audience. And this was given a start. It came to a head in the time of Sikander the Iconoclast (1394-1410 A. D.). Him followed Alishah (1413-

*By Dr. Kaw*

1420 A. D.) who out-heroded him, and the darkest period of Islamic conversions came to an end with the advent of Zain-ul-abdin, who on his accession to the throne of Kashmir restored the country to normalcy by his policy of tolerance which earned him the popular title of "Badshah", and he ruled for 50 years (1420-1470 A. D.), as the most loved Muslim king studying Hindu Shastras, Hindu philosophy and passing his last days at the feet of his Hindu Guru who taught him Mokshopaya, the Yogic method and way for release from this earthly bondage.

'So from 1340 A. D. onwards it was a time of Muslim conversions. ...for which foreign saints, divines and preachers, who were zealous exponents of Tabligh, were called...and it was least imaginable that Sufists could have found fertile ground for their preachings. That was a much later possibility when the people had embraced Islam and the new converts...adjusted themselves to new surroundings, new atmosphere and new environments.

Yogeshwari Lalla was born in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and before Sikandar escended the throne of Kashmir, she had her Nirvana. It is said that she had a meeting with Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani during the eightees of the 14th century. It is first debatable whether any meeting between the two took place; even if it did, it does not seem to have had any influence on her, for she was over head and ears in the rapture of her own Yoga learnt at the feet of her Guru and her father...There is no reference to any Sufi influence upon her. In one of her sayings she is stated to have said : "Shiv Chhuyi thali thali rozan, mav zan bhatta ta Mussalman"...she preached that both Bhattas and Muslims were forms of this Shiva, whose *Prakasha* was in them (alike) and He was everywhere. Even Sheikh Nur-ud-Din was saturated with this philosophy...

If we scan the sayings and writings of Hindu poets and saints and Yogis, it is evident that they have never been influenced by Sufism for in fact there was nothing new in Sufism which was not already available and taught in their own religion aud philosophy. If Sufism has had any influence in later periods it was when Muslim saints and poets of Kashmir were cut off from the main Hiudu current... To say that Lalleshwari was a Sufi poet or Sufi saint as made out

in the article of Dr. Kaw is mere supposition and requires to be controverted. If she was loved and held in esteem by both Hindus and Muslims, it is because she was a Kashmiri saint, a Hindu, and her devotees were the same Hindus, some of whom later had become converts, but all the same their ways of thinking had not changed...'

In answer to the above-cited prima facie view, we seek to make our position clear on the authority of a writer of wider knowledge and deeper study of the Kashmir history.

Shree P. N. Bazaz, the reputed author of several books on Kashmir, has given a correct estimate of the situation after the advent of Islam in the valley in the early fourteenth century which brought in its wake the Sufi movement in the country. Mr. Bazaz writes in his book : "The struggle for freedom" (Chap IV-Cultural Resurgence under Muslims, see P. 81) : 'Muslims did not come to the valley as foreign conquerors as they did in the rest of India. It was by a strange and fortuitous combination of circumstances that Shah Mir ascended the throne in 1339 A, C. It was a period of history when the Hindu Society was disintegrating, its polity had reached a dead end and the old traditions were rapidly declining But wisely did (some of) the Muslim kings take keen interest in the revival of the cultural life of the people and it not only proved instrumental in the preservation of the positive achievements of Hinduism in the valley, but also enriched and broadened the cultural heritage of the country by introducing the liberating and revolutionary principles on which the social philosophy of Islam stands.

'When, with the capture of power by Shah Mir, the news of the establishment of Muslim rule went abroad, zealous missionaries of Islam began to pour into the valley by hundreds. Among them were two brothers Sayyid Taj-uddin and Sayyid Hussain Simani...Shah Hamadan himself visted the valley for the first time in 1372 A. C. and on second occasion in 1377 A. C. He was accompanied by 700 Sayyids. With the influx of such large number of preachers and propagandists of the new faith, there ensued an ideological, intellectual and spiritual warfare in the valley that could be compared only with a similar clash of ideas during the period when Buddhism was introduced in the country during the benignant rule of Asoka, The Sayyids were expounding principles, tenets, dogmas and philosophy of life that were in cross contradiction to the views held by the orthodox and

conservative sections among the Hindus. It was a challange to the caste-ridden Brahmins who, as during the period of the spread of Buddhism, fiercely resisted the then new faith and tried to put back the hands of the clock of progress.

'But the protest of the reactionary Brahmins was a cry in the wilderness, it was destined to fail. For Shaivsm had already prepared the ground for the seed of Islam to grow in the valley. The followers of the Trika philosophy, the large majority of the Hindu community, did not find anything harmful or malignant in the teachings of Islam. Indeed its absolute monotheism appealed to the Shaiva philosophers who enthusiastically welcomed it..... The stiff and strange opposition to Islam of the ante-progressive Brahmins on the one hand and its critical appreciation by the Shaivite philosophers on the other finally resulted in the emergence of a new dynamic composite culture in Kashmir which may be called *idealistic, sentimental or religious Humanism.* It is eclectic in its essence and contains the noble truths and glorious cultural gains of both Shaivism and Islam which they have achieved in the course of their long histories.

**Lalleshwari (Lal Ded) :-** 'The first votary and apostle of Religious Humanisn in Kashmir was the hermitess Lalla. She was born in 1335 A.C. at Pandrenthan in a Pandit family. From early life, she refused to conform to the established traditions, dogmas and rituals of Kashmir. When Shah Hamdan arrived in Kashmir, Lalla met him and had prolonged discussions with him on philosophy, religion and spiritualism. This proved to be a turning point in her life. Having assimilated the basic teachings of both Shaivism and Islam, Lalla became the harbinger of the resurgence movement in Kashmir. Both the Hindus and Muslims acclaimed her as the spiritual preceptor, as the friend, philosopher and guide and the prophet of the new Kashmir which was rising from the ashes of the old. While Hindus reverentially call her Lalleshwari or Lalla Yogeshwari, the Muslims affectionately remembered her by the name of Lalla Maji. She is, however, commonly known throughout the valley and even beyond by the beloved appellation of Lal Ded (Mother Lalla).

'Lalla lived till a ripe age and while Hindus believe that she evaporated in the thin air and became one with the Universal Self

according to Shaivite Faith, the Muslims point to a grave near the Jama Masjid at Bijbihara where they believe she was buried in accordance with the Islamic rites.

'Like Buddha, Lall Ded preached her doctrine in the language of the masses and not in the refined, polished and high flown Sanskrit,..... Her sayings known as Lallavakya are in ancient Kashmiri..... These sayings, as the reader will easily observe were in line with the Trika philosophy. But Lalla did not end here. She unreservedly denounced dogmas, rituals, narrow-minded reaction and debasing distinction of caste. She took the positive stand that *equality, human brotherhood, love and sincerety were the core of religion.* She acknowledged the essential one-ness in the basic philosophies of all creeds and religions.

'Lalla was a Muslim Sufi as well as a Hindu Shaivite. The influence of Sufism on her is clear from many of her sayings. Lalla was fully conscious of her historic role as the prophet of resurgence in Kashmir. She knew that the dynamic philosophy she was preaching and the composite culture that she was founding were bound to open an *era of human brotherhood* in Kashmir in which the differences of caste and creed, birth and position, would be meaningless. Lalla believed in moderation and was an advocate of the Middle Path. In the search of truth and the ultimate goal of freedom Lalla's philosophy knew no failure. To work, to strive in spite of the repeated set-backs and finally to attain the objective was what she taught. Man is the master of himself, the forger of his own destiny, the builder of his own future. He need not seek the help of any unseen powers beyond himself. Let him have faith in himself to achieve freedom. This in nutshell was the message of Humanism that emerged from the fusion of the two religious philosophies of Shaivism and Islam and of which Lal Ded was the first apostle as well as the Prophet. Lalla preached the new cult during the course of her wanderings throughout the length and breadth of the valley. She taught mysticism and collectivism. Like all the great prophets and benefactors of humanity, Lalla was considered mad and crazy in the beginning. She died nearly six hundred years ago but people of Kashmir, both intellectuals and the illiterate rural masses, even

to this day, sing the songs of Lal Ded.

**Sheikh Noor-ud-Din** :- 'When Lalla was still alive, another 'master of Resurgent movement' Sheikh Noor-ud-Din, was born in 1377 A.C. in the village of Kaimuh. From very early in his life, Noor-ud-Din manifested his aversion for formalities of religion and the traditional education imparted in the schools and muktabs under Mullas. Evidently he was in desperate search for a solution of the eternal problem of existence. While Noor-ud-Din was undergoing the terrible mental and spiritual turmoil, he sought the guidance of Lalla who instructed him into the secrets and the mysteries of the cult of Religious Humanism. Sheikh Noor-ud-Din lived a perfectly saintly life and remained devoted to the noble principles of one-ness of all religions and universal brotherhood of man till the end of his life. He died in 1438 A.C.'

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## SUFI INSPIRATION TO KASHMIRI POETRY*

Kashmiri poems are generally sung and are known for their melody 'soaring to the eternal moonlit snow'. They are mostly abounding in Sufi ideas and mystic experiences. It is apparent that Sufism engrossed the abounding poetic imagination of Kashmiris since its introduction into the valley in the 14th century when our first known Kashmiri poets Lalleshwari (Lal Ded) and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din flourished. It will be recalled that Sufi thoughts found expression exclusively in poetry while it spread in various countries. The same tradition was followed in Kashmir as well.

Originally Sufism had given birth to nothing more than a lofty ethics and a subtle metaphysics. While it spread towards Iraq, Seria and Iran, it developed aesthetically in a manner soaring high above

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* *By Dr. R. K. Kaw.*

the ranges of pure speculation, as is apparent in the classical Persian poetry. The cult of love was fused with devotion early in the history of the Sufi movement and the language of human love was used freely to describe the relations between the mystic and his divine beloved. The marriage of romance to mysticism became an abiding feature in Persian poetry and more so in Kashmiri Lol-lyric. Human love is expressed by the typical Kashmiri Lol-lyric. 'Lol' is a Kashmiri word signifying an untranslatable "complex of love - longing and tugging at the heart". It is believed by Sufis that even earthly love is a type of spiritual, a bridge leading to reality. The mystic aspires to merge himself into the Lord, seeks oneness with God, the Truth, and becomes one with the Truth as Mansur declared : 'I am, the Truth' ( ana'I-haqq ) not minding the conventions of religion, for which transgression he had to give his life in price. The Kashmiri mystic poet pours forth the yearning of the human spirit for personal communion with God or friendship with God.

**Lalleshwari** (4th Century A.D.) :—In the ecstatic utterances of the first Kashmiri poetess saint Lalleshwari, known also Lal Ded (Granny Lal), the mystical fervour of the aspirant comes to a climax as she ejaculates: ' After searching and seeking I found God within my own sonl". She says :

"Lal bo luusas chaaraan ta gaaraan
Haal me kormas rasa-nisha ti
Vuchun hyotmas taa'dy diithi-mas baran
me-ti kal ganeyi zi zogmas tati.

'Searching and seeking Him, I Lalla, wearied myself,
And even beyond my strength I strove ;
Then, looking for Him, I found His doors closed and latched.
This deepened my longing and stiffened my resolve ;
And I would not move but stood where I was,
full of longing and love, to gaze on Him.

Further She Says :-

Lal boh draayas lolare
Chaaraan luustum den keho raath
Vuchum pandith panani gare
suy me rotmas nechtur ta saath.

"Longingly for love did I, Lalla, set forth,
And many a day and night I searched ;
Then, lo, I saw the Pandit in my own home ;
Then did I fix upon the moment auspicious.
(That was the day of my auspicious star.)"

Lalla expresses her deep pessimistic outlook on the worldly objects in the following verse. She lays bare the innermost sanctuary of her heart which was seething with the angiuish and longing for the Divinity.

Lali h lalith vaday bo-day
chetta muhuch peyiy maay
roziy no pata loh-langarach chaay
neza-svaraph kyaah mothuy haay.

"I shall weep and weep for thee, my soul,
The illusion of the world hath befallen thee.
Not for thee will survive even the shadow of the objects thou lovest.
Which like an iron anchor tie thee to the world ;
Alas ! why, then, hast, thou forgot thine own true self ?

Lalla speaks about the extreme ascetism and self-denial which she practised for attainng Divine grace.

Mal vondi zolum Jigar morum
Teli Lal naav draam Yeli dali travi-mas tati.

"All impurities within me I burnt away,
And I did slay my heart,
I came to be known as the pious Lalla,
Only when I cleaved unto Him there :
Only when I sat, just there, waiting for his grace."

In the following verse, Lalla expresses the state of 'an'lhaqq' (union with God) and ecstasy,

Pot zuuni vothith mot bolanovum
Dag lalanavam dayisanzi prahe
Lali Lali karaan Laala vuzanovum
miilith tas man shrochyom dahe

"At the early dawn I got up and sang to the mad one
(my heart mad on worldly pleasures),
And soothed his pain with the love of God.
Trying to realize "I am Lalla, I am Lalla," (My own true Self which I realized was the same as the Supreme Self) I awakened my love;
And became one with Him; and the ten (Indriyas) were purified.

In the following verses, Lalla describes how, as seeker, she practised asceticusim and hard penance.

Heri ta mecay bona ta mecay meciya ditnam gulzaar,
Har shayi saahiba chandit bo cheyi
Meciya ditum gulzaar.

Paraan paraan zev taal fajim tasbih firaan anguji gajim
'Ashika vokhala valinj pashim pashim pashim hanaah rashim
Tabib 'ashak, 'arif grasham
Am jib daponam losus masai,
Par kal chajim ada Lal bithas rasaih.

**Nund Ryosh (Sheikh Nur-ud-Din of Chraari Sharif) (b. 1377 A. D.)**

Kashmiri Sufi poets were fond of producing love poetry, the practice followed by the early sufis of Arab and Persia. The poet saint uses the passionate language of the devoted lover, like Rabia and Dhu-'l-Nun, to express his communion with God attained with divine love and extreme devotion.

Aashakh suy yus ashkasati daze
Son zan prazales pananuy paan
Ashkun naar yas valinji saze
ada mali vatiy suy laamakaan

The lover is he who burns with love,
Whose Self doth shine like gold.
When the man's heart lights up with the flame of love,
Then shall he reach the Infinite.

Compare this with the ejaculation of Rabia, the famous woman mystic of Basra. "It is the purest love when thou dost raise
The vail to my adoring gaze."

Sari travit rotuk me chayi
Me chayi chhaandaan luusum doh
Jaanas manz yali ratuk me chayi
Me che ta paanas ditum chhoh

Leaving every one I held you ;
Searching you I passed the whole day ;
When I caught you in my own soul,
I gave up (the difference between) 'I', 'You' and my individual being.
(My individual self became one with the Supreme Self).

In this verse the saint expresses the state of fana and his experience of an'lhaqq - union with God.

The saint expresses the same thougtht in the follawing verese :-

Aanan faanan partavi haq pyom,
Hyuvai zonum gata-ta gaash
Saarinai harfan Kunui sabak pyom
Vana ha siiras gachhi maa faash

The poet chides his heart mad after the worldly pleasures :-

Nafso hiranani chhaala chhuk nivaan
Kyaa sanaa karak maranani gare
Vasun chuyi mechi tal kyaa chuk chhivaan

O my heart you are wandering like a deer (after the objects of pleasure). What will you do when you will die,...

The poet stresses the transitoriness of the world and expresses extreme pessimistic outlook on life. The terrors of death are presented first in al-Muhasibi's book (Kitab al Tawahhum). In Shaqiq's discourse stress is laid on self-discipline "the warfare of the heart (which) consists in making war against the enemy (Satan-nafs) and striving with him and exhausting him."

**Wahhab Khar** :- The poet says :—
Love said "My beloved I shall create",
And there was tablet and pen.
The pen wrote the command of God.
Sing hey ho for joy.

Shaikh Sana'an recited the name of Rama,
And in an Indian girl he found his love,
He worshipped an idol and burnt the Kuran
Sing hey ho for joy

Compare this with a similar idea expressed by a Persian Sufi poet :—

Kaafari ashkam musalmaani maraa darkaar nest.
Har ragi man taar gashtah haajati zanaar nest.

Here the poet tells us in mystic language that after the aspirant reaches the highest state of his communion with God, the Beloved, he loses all the conventions of the religion.

Wahhab Khar's poetry is full of mystic allusions. In this verse he refers to the famous episode of Mansur who was executed for speaking an'lhaqq.

"I am the Truth", said Hazrat Mansur,
In his own mind he found his love,
That secret is difficult to tell
Sing he ho for joy !

'Since I tried to know the secret of man's being,
"And obeisance low I made,
The angels have begun to dance for joy,
Sing he ho for joy !

**Aziz Darvish** :- The saint expresses the state of fana and his expereince of an'lhaqq.

Menacle thy (self and make of it a) bridge (to span this ocean wide)
And, across, attain to the "Annihilation in the Divine",
Where there is no Hindu nor Musalman,
Hear, O, hear, that song so sweet.
Aziz-mot has gone crazy.
He is letting out love's secret among his fellow-men.
He has heard it from pious men and saints.
Hear, O, hear, that song so sweet.

**Khawaja Habib** :- The sufi poet expresses, in the language of wine and human love (like persian poets), as a devout seeker, his rapture of divine love and experience of fana (merging in Divine unity) :

Whosoever realizes his own true Self,
Uncovers the vessels of wine,
Overflows with joy, is intoxicated,
And forgets his lower self :
He will not know a Hindu
From a Musalman.

In the cradle of my lap I shall rock thee,
I am utterly consumed with longing for thee,
Drink the wine ecstatic,
Rove in mid air like wasp-bee in the sky,
See, Shiva, like the sun, is everywhere.

Love's golden sword has pierced my side,
I know not where I was waylaid by Love :
When man suffers, then alone he knows.

Whoever goes to the Kabba will not turn back,
Every moment he will see the Vision Beatific,
And in the Ka'ba and the boundless he will roam.

Some drank cup after cup unceasingly ;
Some, in the act of drinking, attained to the goal ;
Some have despaired, while some still have hope.

All sought Him but none found
The infinitude of His Unity ;
He alone found the Light who struck the path of Self within.

The tradition of mystical verse continues. Following the Persian tradition, the mystic poet advocates the cult of the tavern and wine cup and is indifferent to convention, ritual and popular religion. The poets like Na'mah Sahib, Sochha Kral, Shamas Faqir, Arni-mal Wahab Khar, Gulam Hassan Ganai, Lachhman Bhuth Nagam, Gulam Hassan Beg (Arif) and Master Zinda Koul and many others wrote mystical verses of varying degree of merit. Some poets speak of Mansur's an'alhaqq and execution repeatedly. A few instances are given below :-

**Gulam Hassan Ganai** :- His poetry is full of mystic allusions, for instance : "An'lhaqq" paryaava Mansuur mati
gaaphilav mani buuzith zonus na kenh
tami darapetha hyotun yaar panun sati-sati

('I and my love are one', said Mansur,
People heard him but did not understand ;
From the gallows he clung fast to his love
and proved his faith.)

**Compare with Khwaja Habib :-**

Aarifav ta aashkav rachaay van
Manni buuz Mansuuri naara dazas tan
'an'lhaqq' por tami manz markan

(For love many devotees and lovers renounced the world and betook themselves to woods ;
Mansur alone realized love's true meaning,
His body was set aflame ;
'I am the truth', said he openly,
He cared not what people would say.

A Persian poet says :-
Man name goyam an'lhaqq, yaar me goyad bigo
Chuun nagoyam chuun maraa, dildaar me goyad bigo.

**Gullam Hassan Ganai says :-**

The poet is suffering from the fever of love,
There is no cure save (the wine of) Love's embrace;
O Saki (Cup-bearer, beloved), let me have a draught (of the wine)

Husanas lola-taabas dava kanh-na vasalaki mas-pyaala siva
Haa saakaya daama dita)

It seems that the postesses Haba Khatun and Arnimal, who were deserted by their husbands, were also under the influence of Sufi thought and poetry so much so that, while giving utterance to their feelings of ordinary human love, they soared so high that they ultimately adumbrated Divine love in their poetry with the same Sufi devotion and zeal. The desertion (by their lovers) indeed awakened the Muse in them.

**Abdul Qudus Rasa-javidani :-** The same thoughts of Divine Love and ecstasy reechoe in the poetry of this sufi poet :-

I love thee dearly; thou disregardest me.
I flee to thee; thou flee'st from me.
What wouldest thou ? Command, I will obey;
Thy bidding I will do.
I drank my fill at the tavern of love;
I found thy wanton eyes bedew the cups of wine.
Unplait thy tresses lovely;
Rent into a hundred toothed rents
(by the keen darts of love),
My heart will serve thee for a comb.
Thy heart is pure, o poet,
What carest thou if they speak ill of thee ?

**Lachman Bhat Nagam :-**

| | |
|---|---|
| Far and wide I roamed for love; | yaaradade yac dovum |
| In the blazing July sun | tapay dodum taalyun vesi |
| I left the cool comfort of Lar, | haramasay Laara aayes |
| I strayed into the Shalyun waste | kot lajis shaalyun vesi |
| At early dawn I left my home | Suli vile gari draayas |
| Drawn out by love of God. | Tulamulice malaye |
| Not far from home, my path grew dark, | Lasajanay doh me luusum |
| Desolution stared me in the face. | buthi pyom Shaalyun vesi |

**Daya Ram Ganju :-**

In the bewildering jungle of world's allurements,
I hunt thee alone as a lion doth his prey
with the hounds of my senses in hot pursuit.
When, O when, shall I rock Thee
in the winged cradle of my heart ?
When, O when shall I receive Thee
face to face, at the cool tryst of love ?
(madano az nata ada kar lalavath
hradayuk vuphavun prang
Sendabathi vatharay kuli-shehjaran..)

**Gullam Hassan Beg Arif :-** Mr. Beg is a deeply mystic poet. His poetry is saturated with spiritualistic and mystic thoughts of high order. He is fond of describing petty things, like village stream, unbaked brick, watch, 'Huqa' (hubble bubble) etc., in his poems in which he fuses mystical meanings and inward experience. Mr. Beg is a believer of the cult of Divine love and asceticism. His descriptions of outward things lead to inward mystical meanings.

**Arah** *(Village Stream)* :—

| | |
|---|---|
| The hill-stream goes a singing ; | Vonum aaran ba chus laaran |
| "I come dashing along | Yi yaavun chhum dohan taaran |
| To find my haven of peace, | Diluk taskiin chus chaaran |
| (While I am young and strong,) | |
| For youth will not endure. | |

"In the ocean vast, One finds one's haven of peace."
This is what Arif says.....
(Mahitas sati gach vaasil Diluk taskin bani haasil)
[In this poem Arif hints the doctrine of Tauhid (union of soul with God).]

**Khaam Siir** (*Unbaked brick*) :—

Siira baaji siira parizi siiruk sukhan, vaara neru naara rinda aadam ban
Qaalib kunui chuk kunui karigar aab tai taaf sui kuniy mech zabar
Aki zol naara paan beyi daz na tan siirayi chhu aadam siiras yithai dam
Dam pukhta siiras siir maharam Thosi yiya kham siir chana thaharan

In this poem Arif hints that it is necessary to pass through the ordeal of divine love and devotion in order to achieve strength and lasting life just like a brick which is baked in a hot kiln.

**Gar** (*Watch*) :— Shaandas pyeth me chham gar yi bolaani
Aan.ii duniya faani zaan

Chonui moh ta taar harkat chaani, Arif harkat chaani anzraan
rozi kyaa baaqi kyaah gachi faani Aani duniya faani zaan

In this poem Arif hints at the transitoriness of the world. He says that God is the ultimate source of our life, just as spring is the source of motion in the watch. He advises us to meditate upon that source of life and know what is ever-lasting and what is transitory.

**Master Zinda Koul** :—Masterji is a mystical and deeply devotional poet who is fond of embodying forth the eternal lol-longing (yearning) of the human soul, the soul's quest for God. In the following poem he expresses his deep love of God :-

Friend, he gave me love-token in memory of our plighted troth.
I did not keep it safe, I did not prove worthy of it.
I should have lodged it in my heart.....
(sumran panani dichanam premuk nishaana vesiye
rachrun togum na rovum Osum na baana vesiye
Valinji manz thavun goch.....)

I would offer my heart to Love, But it is not pure nor whole ;
With its rents and stains of shame What use can it be to him ?
Words fail me ; how can I tell What my love has done to me ?

**Maqbul Shah Kralawari** :- Maqbul was a progressive poet. Mosques and temples were severly criticised by him. He smashed all idols of religion which did not stand for unity and service to humanity. According to him pride of birth and belief in the fate have retarded the progress of the Society. Kralwari's poetry has trends of mysticism.

**Acknowledgement** :- *Consulted Kashmir lyrics, selected and translated by* **J L. Koul**; *Vernacular booklets—Kalam Sheikh-ul-Alam (Rishi Namah) Parts I, II, & III, Kalam Haba Khatun ; Ramusi Arif ; Kashmir publications of Cultural Academy (year 1959), etc.*

# NAGARJUNA'S CONTRIBUTION TO SHAIVISM*

The two small works—Trimshikas (Collections of thirty verses) —namely "Chitta-santosha-trimshika" and "Parmarchana-trimshika", published in the following pages, are ascribed to the great Buddhist philosopher, Nagarjuna, who flourished in the reign of Kanishka. According to the Rajatarangini of Kalhana (I, 173) the Bodhisattva Nagarjuna was the only lord of the land of Kashmir during the period of kings Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka. Taranath in his "History of Buddhism in India" says that Nagarjuna was born in the days of king Kanishka. He must have, therefore, come over to Kashmir and settled here during the Period 120-160 A. D.

While in Kashmir, Nagarjuna is known to have lived at Harvan and made converts to Buddhism and defeated the Brahmanas in discussions. The Nilamata-purana also records that from Kanishka's reign 125-160 A. D.) excesses were committed by the Buddhists under the lead of the Bodhisattva Nagarjuna. We learn that they defeated the learned Brahmanas by preaching their Nihilistic doctrines. The two small works (Trimshikas) published below, however, show that the Bodhisattva Nagarjuna had perhaps accepted Shaivism in Kashmir. These works embody Shaivaistic ideas and are composed in the highly technical language of the Shaivas. There appears to have been a practice among Shaivas in ancient times to write Trimshikas (Collections of thirty verses), as we have one such work Paratrimshika published in "The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies". Nagarjuna's authorship of the said two Trimshikas (published in these pages) is given in the last verse and the colophone at the end of each of them. The manuscript was found by Vidyavaridhi Dr. S. N. Sharma Shastri, a scholar of our Research Centre, in possession of a Pandit (D. N. Variku) in Kashmir, from which he prepared a transcript for publication in this Series

Who was this Nagarjuna? It will be worthwhile to give here a brief information about this mysterious personality of ancient India. The name of Nagarjuna has come down to us as a great Buddhist philosopher, as a mighty magician, as a renowned alchemist and lastly as an erudite physician. Was he all this severally and collectively? Or, were these four different Nagarjunas? In the great English-Indian Dictonary of Dr. Raghuvira (P. vii), we find information about Nagarjuna along with a portrait given from a Tibetan original in Tashi Lumpo Monastery. According to this account, Nagarjuna was only one person who was an alchemist, a sorcerer, a Buddhist philosopher and also a physician. 'The problem of Nagarjuna' has been intensively studied by Dr. V. W. Karambelkar of Nagpur University in his article on the subject, published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol XXX, April 1952.

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* *By Dr. R. K. Kaw*

After producing various evidences the scholar has arrived at the conclusion that there were four different Nagarjunas who flourished in four different ages. We are concerned here with Nagarjuna the great Buddhist Philosopher. We shall reproduce here the personal account of Nagarjuna, the Buddist Philosopher, omitting that part of the account which concerns the other so-called Nagarjunas, the alchemist, the physician and the sorcerer.

The earliest account of Nagarjuna is given by Kumarajiva in 405 A. D., as preserved in China. According to this Nagarjuna was born under the Arjuna tree, whence the second part of his name. He obtained his instructions from the Nagas (serpents), hence Nagarjuna. In Chinese he is known as Lung-shu or Lung-mong. The Chinese traveller I-tsingh places Nagarjuna in the first century A. D. as the contemporary of King Kanishka. Long accounts of Nagarjuna are available in Tibetan literature. Nagarjuna was born of Brahman parents in Vidarbha (modern Berar). At an early age, at the suggestions of the High Priest Shree Saraha Bhadra of the University of Nalendra in Magadha, he entered the Buddhist order. He began his studies of the Buddhist scriptures at Nalendra under the guidance of Sri Saraha (or Rahula) Bhadra. He studied the sacred texts of Buddhism so deeply and so extensively that he soon came to be respected as a great Buddhist Philosopher. In a short time after the death of Saraha Bhadra, he became the President of the Nalendra University. Under him the University flourished to such an extent that it eclipsed the importance of Vajrasana (Buddha-Gaya) itself. Nagarjuna then defeated the opposing schools of Religion and Philosophy. Nagarjuna's great fame in Buddhist literature rests on his being one of the founders of Mahayan system of thought, which spread soon after him into Tibet, China, Mongolia, Korea and Japan. From the evidences of Nilamata - purana and Kalhana's Rajatarangini, he seems to have come to Kashmir where he settled for a number of years and converted a large number of people to Buddhism.

The discovery of the two Trimshikas (Shaiva works) of Nagarjuna in Kashmir has given rise to fresh problems for scholars. Firstly, whether Nagarjuna, the Buddhist Philosopher, accepted Shaivism in Kashmir and became such a zealous follower of it. In the second place, it appears that Shaivism, as a system of religious philosophy, is very old in Kashmir and we should therefore go back to trace its history from ages before the Christian era. In these Trimshikas, there is a number of technical terms and ideas particularly used in the works of the Pratyabhijna school which originated in Kashmir in the ninth Century A. D; for instance - 'Lokottara' ; 'Yat - spharatah pashur-apishvaratam prayati' ; 'Drik' ; 'Samvit' ; 'Chidatmakam idam sakalam vilokye' ; 'Sphita samvid-udayam na vindate' ; and so on. Thus we find that the terms used in the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Somananda and his successors were already known and prevelent in Kashmir from much earlier times, when Nagarjuna came into contact with the Shaiva philosophers of Kashmir. It appears that, notwithstanding his staunch advocacy

of Buddhism, he could not resist the influence that this Shaiva religio-philosophy of Kashmir had on him and the two Trimshikas corroborate that influence. This naturally raises another problem for scholars. There may be a view that these Trimshikas are not the composition of Nagarjuna, but that some later writer has composed them and attributed them to Nagarjuna. This is a view which does not seem to hold much water, because the Nilamat-purana, a work of 6th or seventh century A. D., also contains philosohical terms and ideas of the Pratyabhijna school. Further investigations are therefore required in this direction. The view to connect Nagarjuna with the mythological story of Nagarai (Nag-raj, the serpent prince) and Hemal, come down orally to our time, has not a leg to stand on.

**(Paper read at Kashmir Research Forum)**

## नागार्जुनकृता चित्तसन्तोषत्रिंशिका*।

लोकोत्तरानुभवसस्मितघूर्णमान-
स्वानन्दसुन्दरविनिर्मलनिर्निमेषा।
यत्स्फारतः पशुरपीश्वरतां प्रयाति
सा कापि दृक्विजयते गुरुपुङ्गवानाम् ॥ १ ॥

दिष्ट्या भवानलशिखाशततापतप्तं
जन्माटवीषु विषमासु कदर्थितं यत्।
चेतस्तदेतदधुनामलचित्सुधाब्धि-
मध्ये निमग्नमसमं भजते प्रशान्तिम् ॥ २ ॥

व्यामूढमन्धमिव संशयदोषदुष्टं
चेतो यदेतदभवद्भवदुःखपात्रम्।
जातं तदद्य गुरुपादसरोजसेवा-
सञ्जातनिर्मलविबोधमहाप्रकाशम् ॥ ३ ॥

संकोचमाश्रितवतो निबिडं विमोहात्
यस्याभवद्भयमिहेन्द्रियपन्नगेभ्यः।
चेतस्तदाप्य विमलोर्जितसंविदाज्ञां
निशंकमद्य रमते विषयाटवीषु ॥ ४ ॥

कन्दर्पबाणविषमं हरिणेक्षणाभिः
पीतं हतं कवलितं मुषितं यदासीत्।

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* *Edited by Vv. Dr. S. N. Sharma Shastri.*

तत्पात्रतामुपगतं परमोक्षलक्ष्मी-
प्रेमामृतप्लुतकटाक्षपरंपराणाम् ॥ ५ ॥

क्लिष्टं यदेतदभजज्जपकष्टहोम-
प्राणप्रवाहविनिरोधकदर्थनाभिः ।
चेतस्तदद्य परमाद्वयसामरस्य-
सञ्जातसंमदरसासवमत्तमद्य ॥ ६ ॥

यो भेदतीव्रशिशिरप्रसरोपघात-
भीतो मनोमधुकरो हृतशक्तिरासीत् ।
आसाद्य सोऽद्य शिवधाममधु सदास्ते
संविल्लताकुसुमसौरभमानमत्तः ॥ ७ ॥

व्यक्तस्वतन्त्रनिजरूपमहाप्रभावं
यत्कर्म बिन्धुधरणीषु विलीनमासीत् ।
स्वच्छप्रभाप्रसरपूरितसर्वलोकं
चेतश्चिदम्बरपदेन तदद्य माति ॥ ८ ॥

यत्नेन वाञ्छितमनल्पविकल्पजाल-
विध्वंस्तिरस्कृतमवाप न यत्प्रवेशम् ।
दुर्भेदभिन्नविषमार्गलभिन्नमार्गं
चेतस्तदद्य रमते शिवमन्दिरान्तः ॥ ९ ॥

योगव्रतादिनियमैरुपसेवितापि
नावाप दर्शनपथं किल यस्य जातु ।
संवित्प्रियासुभगमूर्जितभाग्यसंपत्
चेतस्तदद्य न जहाति मुहूर्तमेकम् ॥ १० ॥

दुःखैकसारमिति भीम इति प्रयत्नात्
संसार एष किल यस्य बभूव हेयः ।
दिष्ट्या स एव परचिद्रससामरस्य-
संजीवितः श्रयति तस्य विमुक्तिसाम्यम् ॥ ११ ॥

तृष्णाकरालकरवालविलुप्यमानं
यद्विस्मृतात्मविभवं कृपणं बभूव ।
उच्चैरकिञ्चनतयापि तदद्य चेतः
स्वात्मावमर्शपरहर्षमुदारमास्ते ॥ १२ ॥

कस्योर्जितस्य सुकृतस्य फलं तदेतत्
पुण्योदयस्तव कुतोऽयमनन्यलभ्यः ।
संविच्छ्रिया गलितभेदविकल्पया यत्
एकं मुहूर्तमपि नैव विमुच्यसे त्वम् ॥ १३ ॥

वर्तामहे क्वचन नाम न चित्त ! दिष्ट्या
वर्धामहे वयमहो मुदिता भवामः ।
यत्त्वां सखे परनिरुत्तरशैवसंपत्
संभोगमन्थरतरं परिलोकयामः ॥ १४ ॥

ध्यानेऽर्चनेऽपि न कदाचन काञ्चनापि
कुत्रापि निर्वृतिदशा वत यन्न लेभे ।
दिष्ट्या निमग्नमपि संव्यवहारमध्ये
चेतस्तदद्य न विमुञ्चति पारिपूर्ण्यम् ॥ १५ ॥

सर्वेषु चित्तमधुपो विषयद्रुमेषु
बभ्राम यः सततमस्तमिताभिलाषः ।
दैवादवाप्य परमेश्वरपारिजातं
तृप्तो विलीन इव मुञ्चति चञ्चलत्वम् ॥ १६ ॥

यैरिन्द्रियैरसि वशीकृतशक्ति चेतः !
पूर्वं कदर्थितमभूरहितैरिवोच्चैः ।
स्वच्छानिकेतपरचिद्रससंविभक्तैः
दिष्ट्याद्य तैरनुचरैरिव राजसे त्वम् ॥ १७ ॥

चिन्तां ततान करुणं प्रललाप पूर्वं
यत्संकुचत्स्थितिभयं रविजाद्विचार्य ।
चेतस्तदद्वयमिदं निजरूपमीक्ष्य
दिष्ट्याद्य निर्भयममन्दमुदात्तमास्ते ॥ १८ ॥

नित्यं यदेतदभवद्विफलप्रयासं
हेवाकदुर्ललितमप्रार्थितात्मभावम् ।
संवित्सुधारसचमत्कृतिघूर्णमानं
दिष्ट्या तदद्य नितरां स्पृहणीयमास्ते ॥ १९ ॥

चिन्ताशताकुलतरं न रतिं कदाचित्
भीतं भवादभजतैकमपि क्षणं यत् ।

चेतश्चिदात्मकमिदं सकलं विलोक्य
सुप्तप्रबुद्धमिव निर्वृतरूपमास्ते ॥ २० ॥

वन्दामहे किमु नुमः किमु गौरवेण
हर्षेण चित्त ! किमु नाम निपीडयामः ।
संप्राप्तदुर्लभमहोदयशैवसंपत्
त्वां कौतुकेन किमु मित्र ! विलोकयामः ॥ २१ ॥

अपृच्छतामियमनादिधनप्रबोध-
स्नेहानुविद्धहृदयात् हृदयाद्य माया ।
संसेव्यतां सुभगशैवपदप्रवेश-
संप्राप्तदुर्लभमहोदयमुक्तिलक्ष्मीः ॥ २२ ॥

किं ब्रूमहेऽत्र भवते सुकृतेन सत्ये
सर्वाशिषामविषये ननु वर्तसे त्वम् ।
यत्कारणातिगतनिर्मलनिर्विकल्पा
स्वच्छन्दशंकरपदे भजसेऽनुरागम् ॥ २३ ॥

चित्रं यदेतदसमं यदभूत् सुखेषु
प्राप्तेषु निर्वृतिदशामनुवर्तमानम् ।
दुःखेषु दुस्सहतरेष्वपि चित्तमद्य
पूर्णप्रमोदरसनिर्भरमेतदास्ते ॥ २४ ॥

विश्वं निगोर्य सहसा कवलं विधाय
कालं प्रशान्तगगनोपमदिव्यमूर्तिः ।
या राजते निरुपमामृतपूरपूर्णा
सा कापि खेचरगतिर्जयति त्वदीया ॥ २५ ॥

ते कारणादिपतयः प्रलयं प्रयान्ति
यस्मिन् महावटतटे विषमे गभीरे ।
शक्तिर्निजं वपुरपि प्रसभं जहाति
तद्धाम संश्रयसि वीरवर ! त्वमेकम् ॥ २६ ॥

विद्युद्विलासचपले विभवे नताङ्गी
भ्रूभङ्गभङ्गुरतरेऽपि च जीवितेऽस्मिन् ।
चित्त ! त्वयैव विजितं श्रयता विनाशि
दिग्देशकालकलनारहितं पदं तत् ॥ २७ ॥

स्वस्त्यस्तु तेऽम्बरविकस्वरसंप्रदाय-
संप्राप्तशंकरपदोदितसंमदाय ।
दुर्वारसंसृतिदशास्वपि निर्विकार-
नित्योदितात्मविभवाय भवाभवाय ॥ २८ ॥

स्वच्छन्दनिर्मलसदोदितनिर्निकेत-
संवित्सुधारसचमत्कृतिनिर्भरोऽसि ।
दिष्ट्याद्य सद्गुरुमुखाम्बुजमद्य लब्ध्वा-
नुच्चार्यचारुकथनोदयविस्मितोऽसि ॥ २९ ॥

भवमरुभुवि श्रान्तो मोहात् य एष मनोऽध्वगो
विषमविषयप्रोद्यत् तृष्णानिवेशवशीकृतः ।
शिवपदसुधासिन्धुं दैवादवाप्य ससादरं
किमपि सुखिनो मज्जं मज्जं निमज्जति सांप्रतम् ॥ ३० ॥

निरावरणचिद्व्योम परमामृतनिर्भरः ।
नागार्जुनो व्यधादेनां चित्तसन्तोषत्रिंशिकाम् ॥

इति विपश्चिद्वर-नागार्जुनविरचिता चित्तसन्तोषत्रिंशिका ।

अथ

## परमार्चनत्रिंशिका नागार्जुनकृता*।

स्नानपूजनसमाधिभिः क्रमात्
यन्महात्मभिरवाप्यते पदम् ।
कैश्चिदक्रमत एव यन्मया
तत्समर्चनमिषेण कथ्यते ॥ १ ॥

बालिकारचितवस्त्रपुत्रिका-
क्रीडनेन सदृशं तदर्चनम् ।
यत्र शाम्यति मनो न निर्मलं
स्फीतचिज्जलधिमध्यमाश्रितम् ॥ २ ॥

किं तदर्चनमनल्पकल्पना-
जालशम्बरनिपातितात्मकम् ।

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* *Edited by Vv. Dr. S. N. Sharma Shastri.*

यत्र नास्ति स्वविकल्पनोज्झितः
स्फीतसौख्यशिवसङ्गमोत्सवः ॥ ३ ॥
अप्रयत्नमनिकेतनं पदं
दिव्यमाप्य मनसैव वृत्तयः ।
यत्र यान्ति विलयं न सर्वतः
किं तदर्चनमसौ पराभवः ॥ ४ ॥

यत्र वर्षति न खेचरी स्थिति-
श्चित्सुधारसभरौघनिर्भरम् ।
देहचित्तपरिपीडनादहं
किं तदर्चनमसौ पराभवः ॥ ५ ॥

खेचरीप्रभृतिपञ्चकात्मना
व्याप्तिमम्बरगतां निभालयन् ।
हृद्विकाससुलभां भवापदो
यत्र मुच्यति न किं तदर्चनम् ॥ ६ ॥

यत्र साहससमाधि संचयः
प्रस्फुलद्विमलबोधनिर्भरः ।
स्फीतसंविदुदयं न विन्दते
सर्ववृत्तिषु किमेतदर्चनम् ॥ ७ ॥

विश्वसंसृतिरसैकतत्परो
लेलिहानरसना कुतो यमः ।
यत्र चित् शिखिशिखासु हूयते
लीलयैव न किमेतदर्चनम् ॥ ८ ॥

स्तब्धमन्थरमनोहरेक्षणः
प्रोल्लसत्पुलकलम्बिताननः ।
मध्यमां भुवमनल्पसंपदं
यत्र नाश्रयति किं तदर्चनम् ॥ ९ ॥

मानमेयमिति कल्पनोज्झितो
निर्विकारमनिकेतनः शिवः ।
गाढगाढमवगाह्यते क्षणात्
नैव यत्र ननु किं तदर्चनम् ॥ १० ॥

व्योमकल्पममितं निजं वपुः
वीक्ष्य चित्परसुधारसाञ्चितम् ।
स्वात्मनात्मनि निरस्तकल्पना
यत्र हृष्यति न किं तदर्चनम् ॥ ११ ॥

निर्निकेतनिरुपाधि विप्लवः
स्फारचिद्रविमरीचिसंचयैः ।
विश्वमारचितमीक्ष्य विस्मयं
यत्र नाविशति किं तदर्चनम् ॥ १२ ॥

यत्र नित्यपरहर्षनिर्भरः
चित्सुधारसविपानघूर्णितः ।
ध्यानयोगकलनासु लज्जते
नीरसासु न किमेतदर्चनम् ॥ १३ ॥

शक्तिविस्तरविमर्शविस्फुरत्
कन्दयुग्मयुगपद्विगाहनात् ।
भैरवं वपुरुदारचेष्टितं
यत्र न स्फुरति किं तदर्चनम् ॥ १४ ॥

इन्द्रियेषु विषयानुवर्तिषु
प्राणवर्त्मनि निजप्रवाहके ।
कापि निर्वृतिमये चिदूर्जिता
यत्र नोल्लसति किं तदर्चनम् ॥ १५ ॥

दिव्यखेचरदृशा निरीहया
नादबिन्दुमयभावसंचयम् ।
यत्र शुष्कमिव पावकस्तृणं
न क्षयं नयति किं तदर्चनम् ॥ १६ ॥

शान्तिमेत्य न विकल्पविप्लवः
चिच्चमत्कृतिरसो न वर्धते ।
लुप्यते न घनवासनावनं
कापि तृप्तिरसमा न जायते ॥ १७ ॥

मन्यते न कृतकृत्यतां जनो
द्वैतमेघतिमिरं न भिद्यते ।
यत्र दोषशतसंकुलं मनो
न प्रसीदति किमेतदर्चनम् ।। १८ ।।

चिन्नभः सरसि सारसीं परां
शक्तिमच्छप्रभवां प्रबोधयन् ।
मन्त्रवीर्यममितं निसर्गतो
यत्र नाश्रयति किं तदर्चनम् ।। १९ ।।

निर्विकारमजरं निरामयं
निर्विकल्पममलं निजं वपुः ।
वीक्ष्य जन्ममरणोद्यतं भयं
यत्र मुञ्चति न किं तदर्चनम् ।। २० ।।

शान्तवीचिचयसिन्धुसन्निभां
सर्वसंविदुदयावनिं पराम् ।
सृष्टिसंस्थितिलयं प्रसक्तिभिः
विश्वसुन्दरविवर्तवर्तिनीम् ।। २१ ।।

शक्तिचक्रपरमादिदेवतां
अम्बरप्रथमभूमिकामजाम् ।
मङ्गलामसममन्त्रमातरं
यत्र पश्यति न किं तदर्चनम् ।। २२ ।।

सोमसूर्यदहनेन्धनोद्धतः
स्फीतचित्ज्वलनदीप्तिभास्वरः ।
दुर्निरीक्ष्यगति ऋद्धितेजसा
भाति यत्र न किमेतदर्चनम् ।। २३ ।।

आत्मनात्मनि न जानति विधिं
निस्तरङ्गपरबोधभास्वरः ।
यत्पदस्थितिजुषो महाजनः
मुक्तिसंसृतिसमानबुद्धयः ।। २४ ।।

यद्यदा पतति वेद्यता भुवं
तेन तेन ननु यद्विवर्जितम् ।
नित्यनिर्मलसमानभूमयो
यत्पदे विमतिबालकल्पनाः ॥ २५ ॥

यद्विशृंखलमदोदयोल्लसत्
शक्तिपातवशतो विजृम्भते ।
तत्पदं यदि गुरुप्रसादतो
लब्धमुत्तममथार्चितः शिवः ॥ २६ ॥

भावसञ्चयविमुक्तविग्रहा
विश्वमय्यपि परप्रथात्मिका ।
कापि संविदमलाम्बरप्रभा
जृम्भते यदि तदार्चितः शिवः ॥ २७ ॥

किञ्चनापि न विमुच्यते क्वचित्
किञ्चनापि नच गृह्यते क्वचित् ।
स्वं वपुर्विमलबोधनिर्भरं
दृश्यते यदि तदार्चितः शिवः ॥ २८ ॥

भैरवा विविधकल्पनात्मकाः
प्रोल्लसन्ति बहवो यतोऽम्बिका ।
सा यतः स्फुरति तत्परं पदं
भावि चेद्गुरुदृशा शिवोऽर्चितः ॥ २९ ॥

आसादितं गुरुमुखादिदमप्रयत्न-
सिद्धं शिवार्चनमपापधियामवाप्यम् ।
यत्तन्मया निगदितं तदनल्पवांछा-
संबोधनाय सुधियां शिवभक्तिभाजाम् ॥ ३० ॥

अनवच्छिन्नचिद्व्योमपरमामृतबृंहितः ।
नागार्जुनो व्यधादेनां परमार्चनत्रिंशिकाम् ॥
इति नागार्जुनकृता परमार्चनत्रिंशिका ॥

# PEEPS INTO THE INDIAN LITERATURE ON AGRICULTURE*

It has been the privilege of the writer to explore almost whole of the Indian literature ( as far as possible ) to collect all the materials scattered in the various ancient writings and to prepare a complete picture of Agriculture in Ancient India. It was in the year 1949-50 that Shri Nityanand Kanungo, now Minister of Commerce and Industry, Government of India, brought to the notice of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research that "no authoritative work has been published regarding the knowledge of ancient Indians in the Science and Art of Agricalture..." and suggested that "attempts ought to be made to salvage as much ancient knowledge on Agricalture as is possible by a search of the manuscripts and texts". Accordingly, in 1951 a scheme of Research was initiated and sponsored by the Council for exploring "the extent of the knowledge of ancient Indians in the Science and art of Agriculture" and writing a Monograph on the subject. The writer was appointed in 1951 in the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, to undertake the proposed research. The researches carried by the writer (during the years 1951-55) not only brought to light plenty of materials on "Agriculture" scattered in different works, but also unearthed a number of ancient texts on various branches of the Science from the published literature and piles of old manuscripts explored in the various libraries of India. The following pages give the glimpses of information on agriculture as contained in our Sanskrit literature :-

In the various stanzas of the Vedic hymns which are ascribed to the period from 2500 B. C. to 1000 B. C., we only find casual references to the importance of cultivation, of cattle and of wells and channels used mainly for irrigation purposes, usefulness of rain and of manures, the anxiety of the people for preventing risks of crop pests, various crops grown and so on. Some of the hymns indicate that the fundamental principles of mixed farming were realised and adhered to which included dairy farming as one of the important arts then in vogue. A reference in Atharva-Veda VIII, 13, 9 - 12, to the legend of Prithu Vainya, the promulgater of agriculture, shows that the art had come down to the Vedic age from a hoary past. The king Prithu Vainya is known to have levelled the earth, introduced cultivation, erected cities and promulgated agriculture on large scale and other arts of civilization in some remote age. In Kautilya's time (321-186 B.C.), agriculture was considered as the bed-rock of the country's economic prosperity, as is clear from his well-known work Artha-shastra. The headings of the different chapters of this work (concerning our subjects) show that agriculture, cattle, forests, pastures and weaving and other industries were then under the state control and were placed in the charge of qualified directors or superintendents who were assisted by the staff (qualifled) having the knowledge of these arts and allied sciences. Next to Kautilya's Arthashastra, we have the well-known medical treatise by Charaka and Sushruta (100-500 A. D.), the pioneers of Indian

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**By Dr. R. K. Kaw*

Medicine, which give some botanical principles and classifications of plants, food-grains, fruits, etc. Some chapters are written by Varahamihira in his well-known work Brhat-Samhita on different branches of Agricultural Science, such as Science of Plants and Plant-life (Vrkshayurveda), rain clouds (Megha), rain support days (Dharana), winds (Vata), immediate rain (sadya-vrshti), vegetable horoscopy (Sasya-Jataka), ascertainment of the presence of water in a dreary region (Dakargala), etc. Agni-purana and Vishudharmottara Maha-purana, the encyclopaedic works, which appear to have been written by about 500 A.D., include short treatises on Vrkshayurveda (Agriculture and Horticulture) and Pashva-chikitsa (Veterinary) in several chapters. In the later ages many works, too numerous to be mentioned, have been written in which much information on Agriculture and allied subjects is scattered. A number of comprehensive texts, such as Krishi Samgraha of Mahamuni Parashara, Upavana-vinoda or Vrkshayurveda of Sharangadhara (1200-1330 A. D.), a short treatise on Agriculture (in two cantos) in Shri Shiva Tattva Ratnakara (1698–1715 A. D.), some extracts from Krishi-Samgraha, Brhat-Parashara Samhita, etc. in Vachaspati-kosha given under the word 'Krishi', Krishi-shasanam by Dasharatha Shastri and Muni-bhava-bodhini by Narayanagaja pati-dantalori (in Telugo script), all these published works, and the texts still sealed in manuscripts were written on the various subjects concerning agriculture in course of time.

In addition to the above-mentioned works, it is worthwhile to bring into particular notice some texts on Agriculture, Botany, Horticulture, Plant pathology, gardening etc., lying in manuscripts found by the writer in the various Manuscript libraries of India, such as:-

Kashyapa-muni Kathita Kashyapiya Krishi-Sukti and Vrkshayurveda (Mss. found in Adyar Library, Madras); Manava-Vrakshayurveda and Vishva-vallabha Vrkshayurveda by Mishra Chakra-pani (Mss. found in Vallabha Vaishnava Matha Library, at Nathudwara, Rajasthan); Vrkshayurveda by Surapala (Mss. available in Bodelian Library, Oxford University); Vatika-Vidhi or Pushpavatika Vidhi (Mss. found in Ganga Nath Jha Research Library, Allahabad); Vrkshayurveda, a Chapter on Agriculture (found in the Manuscript of Manusollasa in the Gaekwad's Oriental Research Institute, Baroda); Vrksha-dohada, a short treatise on fertilizers and Kautuka-Chintamani containing a section on manuring and gardening (Mss. found in Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore); Daivajna-vilasa by Lolla Lachhmi-dhara and Kanchama Yalla-Yarya (found in Govt. Mss. Library, Madras); Vrkshayur-Jnanam (Mss. found in Saraswati Bhawan Library, Udaipur, Rajasthan) and so many other manuscripts.

The literature collected indicates that our ancients thoroughly understood all the details of agricultural pursuits, such as treatment of soils (mrtika samskara) to suit various crops, irrigation by rain, rivers, channels, wells and tanks and mechanical agencies (Bhu-sechana by setu-bandha, nibandha-yantra etc.), use of fertilizers (Vrksadohada), rotation of crops and uses of fallow (Akrashti-bhumi), adjustment of crops, the treatmet of seeds before sowing (Bija-samskara), prevention and eradication of the numerous risks of crop pests and blights (Ityah) to which agriculture is liable, such as excessive rain, hail, drought, ravages of field mice, locusts and insect pests, antelope, wild pig and birds

prevention and cure of crop diseases (Vrksha-chikitsa) by administering insecticides (Krimignapinda) in the processes of manuring and fumigation, the relative benefits of intensive and extensive cultivation ( Krishi-Yoga ), the value of forest conservation ( Vanaraksha ) and afforestation )Vrksharopana), extention of cattle resources (Pashva-samvardhana), agricultural extension movement (Krishi-vistara) and reclamation and recultivation (Punaruddhara), distribution of land for cultivation among non-agricultural classes, the evils of fragmentation of holdings and so on. Agriculture and allied arts were not only known in practice to the agriculturists and gardeners, but the Science of Agriculture called by different names as Krishi-shastra, Krishi-tantra, Sasya-veda or Sasya-vidya, was also studied by the higher classes of people such as princes and Brahmins (the learned classes) and was perhaps included in the curriculum of studies in the well-known ancient universities of India like 'Nalanda', 'Taxila' and 'Sharada' (in Kashmir) along with other branches of the Science, such as Botany (Vanaspati Jnanam), Science of Plant-life, Plant diseases and horticulture (Vrkshayurveda), Meteriology (Varsha Jnanam), Veterinary Science (Pashva chikitsa) and so on. It is a well known fact that for medical students particularly these subjects formed a necessary part of their studies as is attested by the following illustration. One celebrated medical student (Jivaka) was required to pass the test in Botanical Science at the Final Examination at the University of Taxila for his efficiency in Medicine. He was, in the course of his examination, asked to collect, describe, identify and fully describe the properties of plants that were to be found within four Yojanas of the University town and this Jivaka is said to have done it to the entire satisfaction of his examiners (Preface to B. C. Sengupta's Vanaushadi Darpana, Vol. I, 1908). It is well known that Charaka, Sushruta, Varahamihira and others knew the Science of plants and herbs. It is first in their works that we find the basic knowledge of plant-life in general from germination of a seed upto its growth and fruition. One of the earliest schools of Botany was known as "Parasharian School of Botany" which existed long before Charaka and Sushruta. The basic knowledge of plants and plant-life was considered as a necessary qualification, in the Mouryan time for those officers of the State who had to superintend agriculture in this country (Sitadhyksha...gulma Vrkshayurvedajnah). All the above reveals that Science of Agriculture (including its allied branches) which was brought into vogue in the West a century or so ago, was greatly developed and attained a high degree of perfection in India long before the beginning of the Christain era.

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"THE DOCTRINE OF RECOGNITION"

( Pratyabhijna System of Philosophy )

*By Dr. R. K. KAW,*

of a highly sacred Shāstra which is a potent means of achieving the Supreme beatitude, and anything unreasonable spoken even by Brahma should not be accepted, as Vasiṣta says :

*" Yukti yuktam-upādeyam vacanam bālakādapi,*
*Śeṣam tranamiva tyājyam - apyuktam padma-janmana."*

Thus ends the discussion (Shāstrārtha) between the Vedāntin and the Shaiva. In this discussion, Bhāskarācarya tries to bring into light the main points of difference between the two systems, the Pratyabhijñā and the Vedānta, and also to establish the superiority of the former over the latter. Obviously the two systems are not poles asunder. The Pratyabhijñā and the Vedānta systems can hardly be dissociated from one another. The Kashmir Shaivas do not, however, accept the authority of the Vedic scriptures, but strictly assert that the fountain-head of their doctrines is the Shaivāgamas. But it is evident that the Pratyabhijñā system is more or less affiliated to the Vedic systems. The Vira Shaiva School accepts the sacred authority of the Vedas besides the Āgamas. The above controversial discussion shows that the Pratyabhijñā is opposed to the later system of Shankara's Vedānta which differs greatly from the earlier Vedānta system taught originally in the Upaniṣads. As a matter of fact, the Pratyabhijñā philosophy is mostly in accord with the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, and the two systems differ from one another in minor points only.

The differences between Kashmir Shaivism (Pratyabhijñā system) and the Vedānta and the distinctive features of the former are well brought out in an article on the subject by Prof. B. N. Pandit published in J. & K. University Review (Vol. II, No. 1) of May, 1959. He writes : 'There is no doubt that there is sufficient accord and similarity between the principles of the Vedānta of Gaudapāda and Shankara, on the one hand, and those of the Shaivism of Kashmir, on the other. But, in spite of this accord and similarity, these two schools are as different from each other as are so many of the other schools of Indian Philosophy. For that matter, there is accord and similarity on many points between Shaivism and Buddhism or Shaivism and Sānkhya Philosophy. But that does not mean that Shaivism is identical with any of those schools of Philosophy.'

There are so many points common to Kashmir Shaivism and the Vedānta. As regards the fundamental differences between these two schools, Prof. Pandit writes that the Shaivas argue as follows :- 'According to the Vedanta the universe is false; it has only a visionary existence like that of a mirage. The cause of this visionary appearance of the universe is a sort of ignorance, called *Avidya*. That Avidya has no beginning. It has been working through eternity but can be ended by means of true knowledge or *Vidya*. The powers of Avidya are to be admitted, but cannot be explained ... In reality the soul was ever the Absolute Brahman itself, but on account of Avidya it considered itself as different from the Brahman; and now when this Avidya vanishes, the soul realizes its true nature as Absolute Brahman. This realization is the real liberation and this is the final goal of human life. In reality there is nothing like a soul, or the universe, or any sort of bondage or liberation. All this is false and visionary and appears to exist because of Avidya. This Avidya also is not a real thing. Only the Absolute Brahman is real. He is tranquil and calm like space. His nature is *Sat*. *Chit* and *Ānanda*, that is existence, consciousness and bliss.

The Shaivas raise objection to this view on the following points : 'If Avidya is false, it cannot be the cause of this universe which has been existing from times immemorial. How can a thing, which is false and unsubstantial, bring into existence anything full of substance ? It is not clear as to whom this *Avidya* involves. It cannot involve Brahman which is ever pure, all knowledge and all bliss. Now it could involve a limited soul, but no limited soul, according to the Vedānta, does ever exist. It is only the Brahman which exists. So Vedanta leaves this problem unsolved. Again, when this Avidya is apparent, is well known and is conceived also, then how is it that it cannot be explained ? A true philosophy should explain such an important topic. If this remains unexplained, the foundation of the whole Vedāntic theory remains unexplained. A thing which has an end must have beginning also. So this *Avidya* also must have some beginning and must have some cause. To say that it is beginningless and inexplicable is to betray one's lack of deep insight. It also amounts to self-deceit and incapability in teaching. Space-like tranquility of the Brahman may mean his emptiness and lifelessness. When the Brahman is calm and ineffectual like pure space,

then what is meant by his consciousness and bliss ? Space is never blissful and is never conscious. A conscious element is always active, because consciousness itself is a subtle activity. If the Brahman is conscious, it cannot be passive like space; and if it is like that, then it cannot have consciousness as its nature. Blissfulness also presupposes some sort of stir, though not a stir in the physical sense. It may be a subtle stir of consciousness. But Vedanta does not admit any sort of stir in the space-like Brahman.'

'How can a person dispense with the universe as something visionary and absolutely false ? ... In the view of the Shaivas, the universe is not absolutely false. It is true ... The universe exists. It always existed in the all-pervading form of Shiva. Shiva has pure luminosity and pure consciousness as his form. Luminosity is not the luminosity of the light waves known to physicists. It is that luminosity by which consciousness makes itself always known to itself ...In fact, such consciousnes is by itself luminous in nature and that luminosity is by its nature conscious and thus these two are only two names of one and the same substance and that substance is God or *Parama Śiva*. His luminosity is called as Shakti or his energy. As has been said above, this energy of Shiva is a sort of stir in him... There is a constant succession of ideas going on in one's mind. If one is mentally supervigilant. then he can have the experience of this pure stir of consciousness in-between any two ideas of the mind. This stir is the most important nature of the absolute Shiva. It is a sort of vibration, ...† In fact, it is a sort of constant inward and outward vibration-like activity of the consciousness. It is named as *Spanda* in Shaivism. Because of this Spanda, the Absolute Shiva is always feeling his transcendental as well as his universal aspects. His transcendental aspect is felt by him through the inward stir of that Spanda and his universal aspect is felt by him through its outward stir. Which of these two aspects of the Lord can be called true and which can be called false ? Both are true in reality. Therefore the Lord is not lifelessly tranquil like space...But he exists and exists as Shiva and therefore is always full of energy, which is a divine stir within his soul. That stir is always making this universe of limited subjectivity and objectivity appear in

†"*Sā sphuratā mahā sattā, deshakālāvisheṣiṇī,*
*Saiṣā sārataya proktā, hṛdayam parameṣṭhinaḥ.*"

countless forms. Every soul is a hero in this divine drama of Shiva and has to reach the conclusion of this drama by shaking off his self-imagined ignorance and by realizing his nature as Shiva the Absolute. This is precisely the view of the Shaivaistic philosophers of Kashmir.

'Gaudapāda has realized this nature of the self and there are clear hints to this effect found in his *Kārikas*. Shankara also has at places expressed this view and so has Bādarāyana. Upaniṣads also have preached this energetic nature of the Brahman. But, in spite of all this, this view-point has not been clearly discussed by any of the Vedāntists. All the major works on Vedānta have emphasised the falsehood * of the universe and the passive tranquility of the Brahman. There are two points of view expressed in the Upaniṣads regarding the nature of the Brahman. One is the positive approach according to which it has been preached that everything is Brahman, I am Brahman, thou art that, and so on. † The other approach is the negative approach, according to which it has been taught that the Brahman is not this, He is not that, ‡ He transcends all the objective elements, and so on. But it is this latter approach which has become popular with the authors of the major works on Vedānta. This one-sided view of the truth popularised by the Vedāntists has been responsible for all the criticism made on the Vedānta by other schools of Indian philosophy. Some have called the Vedāntists as hidden Buddhists. There is so much confusion in the Vedāntic exposition of the Truth...The Shaivaistic style of the exposition of the Truth is, on the other hand, free from all confusion,... It is thus clear that Kashmir Shaivism is an independent school of thought and is very distinct and different from the Vedānta or any other Vedic or non-vedic school of Indian philosophy...'

It will be noticed here that the history of the Vedānta really begins with the system of Shankarācārya, being a predominant school of thought in the Vedānta. In the course of time the doctrine of Māyā, as taught by Shankarācārya, invited criticism from the Vedāntins like Bhāskara, who is probably not removed from Shankara by more than two centuries. Rāmānujācārya joined Bhāskara in vehemently criticising

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* *"Sā ca māyā na vidyate. (Gaudapāda Kārikā)*

† *"Sarvam Khalvidam brahma,"*
*aham brahmāsmi tat-tvam-asi, (Upaniṣad)*

‡ *"Sa neti neti ātmā" (Upaniṣad)*

Shankara's interpretation of the Upaniṣads and the Brahmasūtras. Rāmānuja was followed by Ācāryas (teachers) like Nimbāraka, Mādhava, Vallabha and Caitanya, and many other saints and writers who helped the cause of humanity by advocating *bhakti* in one from or the other. They were also obliged to criticise Shankarācārya. Vallabhacārya (1473 - 1531 A.D.) tells us that he was asked by the Lord Krishna to appear in the world and to offer a correct interpretation of the Upaniṣads and the Brahmasūtras, as these sacred works were misrepresented by Shankarācārya. Accordingly he taught a system of Vedānta known as the Shuddhādvaita. It clearly shows that the non-duality as taught by the Upaniṣads can be very well explained even without the help of Māyā, which appears in the system of Shankara. The writers of the works on Pratyabhijñā school also revelled in vehemently criticising Shankarācārya's theory of Māyā and other points of difference. Like the schools of Rāmānujacārya and Vallabhāchārya, Pratyabhijñā system is therefore a criticism of Shankara's school of thought in the Vedānta as well as Buddhist phenomenalism which appears to be the possible basis of Shankara's idealism. (Ref. the system of Vallabhāchārya by Prof. G. M. Bhatt, the Cultural Heritage of India - I - P. 797)

# CHAPTER III

## RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHIC BACKGROUND

1. *Religious beliefs of the earliest inhabitants of Kashmir; Religious upheavels in the valley; Śaivism and Buddhism; The origin of philosophic spirit in Kashmir (under the impetus of Buddhism);*
2. *Survey of the earlier philosophical speculations and the doctrines evolved from the Vedas and the Upaniṣadas and different Brahmnical schools as well as Buddhists.*

In the present chapter we shall trace the religious upheavels in the valley from the earliest times and survey the earlier philosophical speculations prevailing there before the rise of the Pratyabhijñā system.

**Religious beliefs of the earliest inhabitants of Kashmir :-** The geographical position of Kashmir, situated as it is in the midst of high mountains, shows that it might have long remained secluded and so uneffected by any external influence. But, it seems that while a number of old cults and religious practices flourished in Kashmir, at times different religious and philosophical doctrines reached there from outside its boundaries. Various evidences point to the fact that the inhabitants of Kashmir professed both kinds of Aryan and aboriginal beliefs from very ancient times which prevail even at the present day. This consisted in the performance of the Vedic rites and recitations of Vedic prayers as well as the worship of the aboriginal deities Shiva, Viṣnu and their Shaktis. According to the Nilamata Purāna*, there existed in Kashmir in very ancient times a polythiestic religion, which included, among many other primitive types of worship, the worship of the aboriginal deities such as God Shiva, Geneśa or Vināyaka, various Vedic and Purānik gods, and even the worship of the Buddha as an

* This is the earliest extant work in Kashmir and is supposed by Dr. Buhlar to be the record of the time not older than the sixth or seventh century A. D.

Autar (incarnation). The account of the creation of Kashmir by Prajapati Kashyapa from the lake Satisara (the lake of Sati-goddess Durga) according to the Nilamata Purāna, mentions that the original inhabitants of Kashmir were Piśācas who can be identified with aborigines. We are told that the men of four castes (Āryans) were introduced into Kashmir by Kaśyapa (from India). This evidently shows that when Āryans and aborigines following their particular creeds came in contact with one another, each of them gradually adopted the religion of the other.

**Religious upheavels in the Valley :-** Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray states in his work : "The Early History and Culture of Kashmir" (Chapter VI, PP. 140 ..), 'The earliest inhabitants of Kashmir probably cherished some aboriginal beliefs, the details of which are not traceable now. The snake-cult or Nāga worship seems to have been established in the valley from a remote period and undoubtedly had been one of the earliest religions of the land. In the third century B. C., Buddhism seems to have made some headway into Kashmir, converted a large number of people and overshadowed the Nāga cult which ultimately sunk into oblivion. Among Hindu gods, Shiva either originated or entered the valley sometime before the faith of the Sākya prince made its entrance and was later followed by Visnu, Surya and other Brahmnical gods and godesses.' Various evidences produced by the scholar show that Buddhism was in a thriving state in Kashmir from the 3rd century B. C. upto the last days of the Hindu rule. Buddhism, however, seems to have been overshadowed by the growing Vaiśnava and Shaiva faith which became predominant in the valley in the centuries following the Karkota period (ending 855 A.D). The history of the introduction of Shaivism in Kashmir is shrouded in mystery. Archaeologists have discovered traces of Shiva worship in the proto-historic Harappa culture. It is not known, whether the Shiva of Kashmir was an immigrant from the neighbouring Indus Valley or was of local origin. The facts furnished by Kalhana in his Rajatarangini, the Chronicle of the kings of Kashmir, however, indicate, in the main, the wide prevalence of the Shaiva cult in the valley from an early period. There are innumerable references to the foundations of Shiva shrines and erection of temples in honour of Shiva.

In reference to the above-said observations of Dr. S. C. Ray,

in the first place, it may be noted that, as stated by H. H. Wilson in his Essays on the Hindu History of Kashmir, 'originally, no doubt, it (the religion of Kashmir) was ophite or snake worship but this is a part of the Hindu ritual and the Nagas are included in the orthodox pantheon. The adoration of the Shiva was soon engrafted upon this, even if the two rites were not originally identified". † In the second place, it will be noticed that there are numerous references in Vedas, Brahmanas, Upaniṣads, epics and Purānas, as pointed out by the scholars like Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, C. Hayavadana Rao, R. W. Frazer and Dr. Hardayal, which show that Shiva worship was in vogue in India in the Vedic age. ‡ Some of the references clearly prove that this form of worship was gradually borrowed by Aryans from non-Aryans. In fact, Shiva worship seems to have been prevalent in India from the age of the Indus Valley Civilization, even before 3000 B. C., as the statues of Shiva have been unearthed in the excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. It will be observed further that in the Rājatarangini, Kalhana connects the reigns of his first two rulers of Kashmir, Gonardo I and Damodara I, with the time of the Great Bhārata war. It is mentioned that the two rulers went to Mathura and took part in the war against Krishna and were assasinated. If we believe Kalhana, communication must have existed between Kashmir and the plains of India from the days of Mahābhārata. It will not therefore be hazardous to assert that Indian culture along with the various forms of religion then followed in the country, including Shiva worship, must have entered the valley by the time of the Great Bhārata War, which is generally believed to have occurred around B. C. 1000.

**Shaivism and Buddhism :-** As is evident from the above, there can be no doubt that Shiva as a popular deity must have been widely worshipped in the valley from remote period. As the first reference to Shiva worship in the Rajatarangini, Kalhana writes that there was a shrine

† Quoted in the Article : 'A Survey of the origin of the people of Kashmir by H. N. Koul Part II, in "Kashmir Today" (Sept. 1958)

‡ See Indian Philosophy by Dr S. Radhakrishnan; Shrikara Bhāsya on Vedānta Sutras, Vol I, Introduction, by C. Hayavadana Rao; Indian Thought Past and Present by R. W. Frazer; The Boddhisatva Doctrine by Dr. Har Dayal.

of Vijayesha even in pre-Ashokan days. Ashoka himself built two temples of Shiva Ashokeshvara and was the devotee of Bhutesha (Shiva). There are numerous references to the foundations of Shiva shrines and erection of templas in honour of Shiva. Shaiva faith became predominant in the valley in the centuries following the Karkota period. Avantivarman (855-883 A. D.) was the devotee of Shiva. Shaivism received patronage from the Utpalas, who succeeded the Karkotas. It also flourished under the second Lohara dynasty. Shiva Shrikantha was regarded in the valley as the promulgator of Shaivagama Shaivism which included within itself the Pashupata cult. Kalhana refers also to the Tantric cult which is closely connected with Shiva worship. When Buddhism entered into Kashmir some time before the reign of Ashoka (272-232 B. C.), there already existed a religion, the prominent feature of which was the worship of 'God Shiva in company of his female concert Paravati or Shakti'. In this form of worship God Shiva and his Shakti, adored as father and mother of all creation, symbolize the two generative principles of the universe, viz. male and female cosmogonic principles. Thus Shiva worship and Shakta faith are closely associated with one another.

It is commonly believed that the Buddhist period in Kashmir follows from the third century B. C. with the reign of Ashoka, but the new faith seems to have obtained a footing in the valley much earlier, since it was prevalent there in the time of the native king Surrendra who ruled some time after the Buddha but before Ashoka. The Ceylonese chronicle Mahavamsha preserves an account of the introduction of Buddhism in the valley by Majjahantika (Madhyantika) who was sent to Kashmir by Ashoka to propagate the new faith. This fact is recorded also by the Tibetan writer Taranath who says that Madhyantika found twelve Viharas in existence at the time of his arrival. We learn from Kalhana that Kashmir formad a part of the empire of Ashoka, who was a follower of the Buddha It is in the reign of king Ashoka that Buddhism spread all over India and flourished in the valley by the side of the ancient Shaiva faith. Kashmir was a great centre of Buddhism under the Kushanas. It was under the auspices of Kanishka, the Kushana ruler, that the **Great Buddhist Council** was held in Kashmir. It seems that in the beginning the religious policy of Buddhists was non-interfering and the Brahmans of Kashmir did not feel its advent seriously. The Nilamata Purana records that in Kanishka's

reign (125-160 A. D.) excesses were committed by the Buddhists under the lead of the famous Boddhisatva Nagarjuna. We further learn that Buddhists defeated the learned classes of people in Kashmir by preaching their own nihilistic doctrines. In consequence, the 'time-honoured ceremonies' followed by Kashmiris had to be suspended. The Nagas, perhaps a class of the original inhabitants of the valley, were greatly provoked and with their help one Brahmana, named Chandradeva, finally restored the traditional customs and freed the land from the plague of the Bhikshus (Nilmata Purana 424-429). Even after this incident the Buddhist cult was there in a very flourishing condition. As recorded by Kalhana, Meghavahana, Lalitaditya and many other rulers or the members of the royal families built monasteries and stupas there. This fact is in full accord with the report of the Chinese pilgrim, Ou-kong. That Buddhism was patronised equally along with other orthodox creeds by the rulers of Kashmir, is evident from the gifts and endowments made by Kashmirian rulers, especially by king Lalitaditya, and by the members of their courts. The worship of Buddha was recognised in Kashmir from ancient times, as is evident from Nilamat Purana which mentions the Buddha's birthday as a great festival (Ref. verses 809-816). The thriving State of Buddhism in Kashmir after Kushana ruler Kanishka is testified by archaeological evidence, and that, during the reign of Karkotas, i. e. during the 7th and 8th centuries A. D, is also attested by the evidence of the Chinese travellers Heun Tsang (who visited Kashmir during the years 631-633 A. D) and Ou-Kong who came to Kashmir in 759 A D. They spent many years in the valley in pilgrimages to holy sites and in studying Sanskrit. Both of them witnessed Buddhism flourishing in the country. All this shows that Buddhism and Brahmanic cults existed peacefully side by side in Kashmir for centuries before Kalhans's time (cf. Chronicle of kings of Kashmir, by Dr. M A. Stein, Introduction, P. 9).

**Origin of Philosophic spirit in Kashmir** (under the impetus of Buddhism) :- It has been said above that Buddhists existed in Kashmir for many centuries and lived peacefully along with Brahmins who were the followers of Shiva-Shakti cults from very early times. Consequently the exchange of views on religious matters between the two sects was inevitable. The influence of Buddhistic thought upon the people of Kashmir was so great that during the eighth and ninth centuries of

Christain era the ancient Shaiva faith was gradually vanishing as is observed by Pt. Madhusudan Koul in his introduction to Ishvara Pratyabhijna Vimarshini (P. I). A religious upheaval, however, came in the ninth century A. D. which brought about the waning of Buddhism and revival of ancient Shaiva faith in the country. It will be observed that Buddhists initiated a critical view in matters which were so far believed only as gospel truths. The various philosophical doctrines evolved from Buddhists, such as Vijñānavāda and Kshanikvāda, were already known in Kashmir. Under the impetus of the Buddhistic thought, various schools of philosophy developed in the valley (as did in the rest of India) among the non-Buddhists, viz. Brahmanas, Vaidyakas, Shaivas and Shāktas. The people were also well versed in the doctrines of Vaiyākarnas (Grammarians), Sānkhyas, Naiyāyikas and the Yoga system which had come into the valley from India through ages. Consequently, in the ninth century A.D. there existed a concourse of various religious and philosophical currents converting the valley into a battle-ground at the time of the rise of the Pratyabhijna system.

As has been observed above, Shiv-Shakti cults were prevalent in every part of India long before the Vedic age. In course of time there grew a mass of literature of these cults, known as 'Agamas and Tantras', side by side with and possibly independent of the Vedic scriptures. Consequently in a place like India where different schools of thought grew gradually in the Vedic fold, there developed similar schools within the ambit of Shaiva fold. Shri S. G. Sakharpeker mentions in his address on 'Shaiva-gamas', delivered in the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, held in 1933, that before the arrival of Shankarāchārya on the religious stage, the Agamavādins of Shaiva school were separated into different schools, viz. Mahāpāshupatas, Shaiva Siddhānta, Nipāla-Pāshupatas, Kashmir Shiavas and Vira-shaivas. These different Shaiva sects held varied philosophical theories, such as Dvaita (Dualism), Advaita (non-dualism), Vishishta-dvaita (modified non dualism) and Dvaita-dvaita (dualism-cum-monism) like similar schools in the Vedic fold.

**Survey of the earlier philosophical speculations and doctrines :-** As has been stated above, the rudiments of every system of philosophy in India originally existed in the Vedas, the Upanishadas and the Buddhist sources, which subsequently developed in different systems with some additions and alterations These germinal ideas constitute the common

theme or skeleton of various systems, of course, including the Pratyabhijna system. They, however, differ from one another in propounding some new doctrines of their own and coining different nomenclature. As observed above in Chapter II (P. 54), the main ideas constituting the central theme of the Pratyabhijna Philosophy are traced by Dr. Lachhmidhar in the verses Nos. 1270-1274, 1283-86 and 1294-1295 of the Nilamat Purana.* Dr. L. D. Barnett, while bringing to notice the similarity between 'modern theology of South India' and 'the ancient teachings of the north', endeavoured to indicate what, in his opinion, the links are which join the two, and ultimately both of them to the school which is represented by the Shvetashvatara Upanisad†. Some verses occuring in this Upanisad, such as VI-7, 8 & 9 and IV-10‡, indeed, give almost the same or similar ideas as are contained in the above-mentioned verses of Nilamata Purana representing the central theme of the Pratyabhijna System. As a matter of fact these are the common ideas which connect the Pratyabhijna system with the Vedanta school. Pt. Suryanarayana shastri $ and some other scholars of his view think that the Svetasvatara-Upanishad and Kaivala-Upanishad have probably grown under the shadow of Agamas, as is indicated by the sectarian title given to the Ultimate Cause (Shiva), symbolised generally by the term Brahman in the Upanishads. It will be clear from the following that the above ideas not only occur in these two Upanishads but are also scattered in various other Upanishads as well as in the hymns of the Rig-veda. These ideas will, therefore, be traced out from the Vedas and the Upanisads in a systematic order as follows :-

*The main ideas contained in these verses are as follows :- "Indra must 'recognise' (abhijñātah) Shiva as the only Supreme deity (Maheshvarah), Cause of all causes (Kārana kāranam), all-doer and all-knower (sarva kartā ca sarvajñashca) (1270-1271), who by his free will (iccha) creates the universe comprising animate and inanimate objects. This is the creeper of power (Shakti-latā) of the Lord (Prabho) which manifests the world from itself (Jagad bhāsayate bhavāt (1272-1273). The Lord brings into existence (Lit supports) the three worlds by his Maya (wonderous power) (Māyā-dhrata jagat-traya) (1283). Shiva has no extraneous motive for his acts of creation etc. other than His own nature (Tava kāryam na vidyate) (1285). He is the eternal witness (sākshi-vatasthitah) (1286). Moha or delusion is produced by Shiva's own Shakti, namely Maya Shakti (Tavaiva mayaya mohitena) (1294) Indra has known this Supreme Lord (Shambho) only by his favour (Prassannosi dhruvam Shambho ena jnātosi vai mayā) (1294).

Foot Notes Continued on Page 85.)

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